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# **East Europe Report**

**POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS**

**No. 1812**



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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

MAY 1980 ISSUE OF SED THEORETICAL JOURNAL REVIEWED

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 30 Apr 80 p 4

[Helmut Caspar review of East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 35, No 5, May 1980, signed to press 7 April 1980, pp 449-560: "The Opportunity of 8 May 1945 Has Been Utilized in the GDR--Article by Erich Honecker in Latest EINHEIT Issue." Translations and/or summaries of the articles by the authors referred to below as well as by others are published in pages following this review]

[Text] Under the headline, "We Have Made Use of the Historic Opportunity," EINHEIT in its May issue publishes an article by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, on the 35th anniversary of the liberation from Hitler fascism. In this article Erich Honecker notes that "the victory of the Soviet Union not only has saved mankind from plunging into barbarism, but also has accelerated its progress with tremendous forcefulness. Developed into a world system after 1945, socialism today is a reality in the countries of three continents and has begun gaining a foothold on the fourth one." Through its victory over German fascism the Soviet Union, which bore the brunt of the struggle in the anti-Hitler coalition and made the greatest sacrifices, has achieved a historic liberation feat for mankind, the greatest after the Red October.

By crushing Hitler fascism in May 1945, the road was cleared for the founding and successful development of the GDR. "The emergence and growth of the GDR are in keeping with the nature of our epoch, with the worldwide transition from capitalism to socialism, initiated by the Red October of 1917, and with the objective laws of social progress." In socialist Germany, Erich Honecker writes, the great revolutionary ideas of Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels and V. I. Lenin have become a reality. "In our country, too, people are showing what achievements they are capable of, once the exploitation of man by man is abolished and socio-economic conditions are created to allow man to work for his own benefit."

The comprehensive cooperation with the Soviet Union is of decisive importance for the continued shaping of the developed socialist society, Erich

Honecker emphasizes. "It is in the joint effort to solve the tasks of socialist and communist building that our friendship thrives best. Thus it has begun in the past, thus it is today and so it will be tomorrow." Erich Honecker concludes his article as follows: "The memorable anniversary has inspired many work collectives, countless citizens of our Republic in the spirit of the activists of the first hour to undertake new initiatives for the comprehensive strengthening of our socialist worker-peasant state. Thus at the same time they are preparing the 10th SED Congress which will convene in early 1981 and map out the further aims related to socialist building."

In his article, "The Decisive Feat," Albert Norden, SED Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, notes that all the positive features that have put their imprint on the course of international developments in the past three and half decades are in the final analysis linked with the victory of the Soviet Union over Hitler Germany. No counterattack by imperialism has ever been able to change anything in this respect. The author stresses that the liberation feat of the Soviet Union and its allies has placed a special responsibility on our people. The GDR is measuring up to this responsibility in the communists of the Warsaw Pact member states. "The firm foundation for such a militant policy to safeguard peace, defend socialism under any conditions of the class struggle by feats for the strengthening of the GDR," Albert Norden notes in conclusion.

"The finest monument to the heroes of the struggle against fascism is durable peace, achieved and preserved through the efforts of the socialist countries, of all progressive forces in the world," writes Sergey G. Lapin, member of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the Soviet Society for friendship with the GDR, in another contribution to the 35th liberation anniversary.

Elsewhere in EINHEIT Army General Heinz Hoffmann, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and GDR national defense minister, deals with the history and current tasks of the socialist military alliance. He pays homage to the Warsaw Pact, concluded 25 years ago, as well as to the socialist defense coalition created by it, "primarily as a triumph of the Leninist peace policy and of the peace-keeping role of socialist military power." Heinz Hoffmann underscores the firm determination "not to spare our strength in the combat period facing us and to strengthen our socialist class and arms alliance for the benefit of our peoples and in the interest of peace."

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TOP SED LEADERS HAIL RESULTS OF SOVIET LIBERATION

Honecker: 'Successful Development of GDR'

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 35 No 5, May 80 signed to press  
7 Apr 80 pp 451-457

[Lead article by Erich Honecker, SED general secretary and chairman, GDR Council of State: "On the Occasion of the 35th Anniversary of the Liberation from Hitler Fascism: We Have Made Use of the Historic Opportunity"]

[Text] With its victory over German fascism at the decisive front of World War II, the Soviet Union accomplished a world-historic act of liberation for mankind. It also enabled the working class of our country--led by the SED--to establish its own power. The safe existence, the success and the favorable prospects of the GDR would be inconceivable without its inseparable links with the Soviet Union. To the GDR, no task is more binding than the preservation of peace. The further development of the advanced socialist society presupposes a marked increase in productive capacity. To accomplish this, it is necessary still more consistently to utilize the advantages offered by socialism for the implementation of scientific-technological progress.

Thirty-five years have passed since the victory of the Red Army over German fascism at the decisive front of World War II. With this victory, the Soviet Union, which in the anti-Hitler coalition bore most of the burden of the struggle and which made the greatest sacrifices, accomplished a world-historic act of liberation for mankind. Next to the Red October, it is the greatest act accomplished. The 8th of May 1945 also marked a new chapter in the history of our people, which is closely linked with the tremendous changes that took place in the world after the defeat of the Nazi regime and that opened up significant opportunities for the forces of peace, democracy and socialism.

The victory of the Soviet Union saved mankind not only from the plunge into barbarism; with tremendous force, it also accelerated its progress. Having

become a world system, socialism is presently a reality in countries on three continents and it is gaining a foothold on the fourth. Already, approximately 50 percent of the people of Europe, who inhabit approximately two-thirds of our continent, live in socialist social systems. The states of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, which constitute only approximately 10 percent of the world's population and hold 18.5 percent of its territory, produce one-fourth of the world's national income and one-third of its industrial production.

Through the advance and the increased strength of socialism, favorable conditions were created for the struggle of the people's fighting against imperialism for their national and social liberation. The imperialist colonial system collapsed and there emerged close to 90 new independent states. Constituting approximately 70 percent of the world's population, the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America presently represent an important factor in the international arena and in the anti-imperialist struggle in particular.

Evidence of the changes that have taken place since that time is the marked development of the workers' movement in the capitalist countries. A large number of communist parties consolidated and expanded their positions. In the capitalist countries of Europe alone, the number of Communists increased from approximately 500,000 in 1939 to the present total of approximately 3 million. Whereas on the eve of World War II there were 59 communist parties, such parties now are active in over 90 countries.

The smashing of Hitler fascism in May 1945 opened the way to the establishment and successful development of the German Democratic Republic. Consistently following this course, the working class of our country--led by the SED and in league with all other working people--overcame for good the ignominious rule of militarism and imperialism and their reactionary, nefarious spirit. The working class established its own power and created the first socialist state of workers and farmers on German soil. In a uniform revolutionary process and through a bitter struggle with the imperialist reactionary forces and their accomplices, the antifascist-democratic upheaval was implemented and the socialist revolution was carried through. In accordance with the resolutions adopted at the Ninth SED Congress, the workers are developing the advanced socialist society, thus creating the conditions necessary for the gradual transition to communism.

Surveying the results of the efforts made and of the hard struggle during the past 35 years--a period characterized by many trying experiences in the class struggle with imperialism--one notes the unmistakable renewal of the life of our people. In fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union and firmly integrated in the socialist community, the GDR has been steadily advancing as a politically stable and economically sound state bent on fully developing science and culture. The GDR is one of the 10 most productive industrial nations in the world; it has won international recognition; it is a



member of the United Nations, and in the international arena, it constructively participates--on a basis of equality--in the solution of current problems. Situated directly at the dividing line between the two contrary social systems, between the alliances of the Warsaw Pact and of NATO, the GDR discharges its special responsibility and has proved a reliable factor of peace and socialism.

In short, one can say that we have made use of the historic opportunity for liberation. The development and growth of the GDR conform with the character of our era--the worldwide transition from capitalism to socialism that was initiated by the Red October of 1917--and with the objective laws of social progress. In socialist Germany, the great revolutionary ideas of Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels and Vladimir Il'ich Lenin are being translated into reality. In our country, too, the people demonstrate what accomplishments they are capable of, once the exploitation of man by man has been eliminated and once socioeconomic conditions are created that enable man to work for his own good.

The secure existence, the favorable development and the clear long-range prospects of the GDR would be inconceivable without its inseparable links with the Soviet Union, the country of Lenin. Year after year, the fraternal fighting alliance between the SED and the CPSU, the friendship between our two states and peoples have been intensifying. There is not a single area where this has not made itself felt. Through the Agreement on Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance, which was concluded on 7 October 1975 and which extends into the next millennium, our partnership is again raised to a higher level. This applies to the entire broad range of our relations and it is reflected in the large number of results achieved since then. We regard the friendship with the powerful Soviet Union--which is a primary concern of our entire nation--as one of the most precious accomplishments of the GDR and at the same time as a crucial pledge of all further achievements.

We are celebrating the 35th anniversary of liberation--true to the legacy of those who risked their lives to end the night of fascism, to let break through the light of an auspicious future, to re-establish harmonious relations among the nations. Exhibiting an unheard-of spirit of sacrifice, the heroes of the Soviet people fought for this goal, as did the numerous members of the anti-Hitler coalition. The antifascists of all countries adamantly and unswervingly defended it--in the resistance movement or in exile, in penitentiaries or concentration camps. The attainment of this goal was to bring about just that: a future of lasting peace.

World War II, which had been started by the rapacious German imperialists, was the biggest war within the memory of man. Between 1939 and 1945, 72 states were at war and a total of 110 million of their citizens were members of the armed forces. Four-fifths of the world's population were affected by the hostilities. While in World War I 10 million people lost their lives, World War II took a toll of 50 million lives. Ninety million



persons were wounded. The Soviet Union alone lost more than 20 million of its sons and daughters in this struggle, which decided the fate of mankind. They fell on the battlefields or were murdered in Nazi Germany's concentration camps or by fascist special detachments.

After all the sacrifices claimed by World War II, after the distress, death and immeasurable material destruction that it entailed, there was and is no task more binding than the defense and preservation of peace. It is the greatest treasure of the nations and the most important precondition for their further progress. Thus peace--which is identical with socialism and its interests--has always determined and still determines the foreign policy of the Soviet Union. In cooperation with the Soviet Union, the GDR and the other fraternal countries do their utmost to create the conditions necessary for making socialism the normal way of life of the nations. It was primarily due to these activities, due to the consolidation of socialism that they succeeded--over a period of 35 years--in preventing a new world war. These facts are of crucial importance.

In view of the present aggravation of the international situation by the most aggressive imperialist forces, a significant intensification of all peace-oriented activities is imperative. The transition from detente to the policy of confrontation, which certain circles of imperialism and of the United States in particular are abetting--while increasing their anti-Soviet agitation and intensifying NATO armament to an unheard-of degree--is at variance with the interests of the nations. Ultimately, such a course threatens to jeopardize all that they have achieved and that they need and want for their peaceful life. It is necessary to counter this development.

The worldwide changes in favor of socialism and progress, which have taken place since 1945, and the experience gained in the "cold war" demonstrate convincingly that the policy of peaceful coexistence of states characterized by different social systems is the only sensible policy. There is no reasonable alternative to this policy--a fact confirmed by judicious statesmen of the West. Opposed to this course is the policy of those imperialist reactionary forces, which are bent on stepping up armaments and which resort to the most shabby excuses to generate and fan tensions and confrontations in the international arena. In the interest of the nations, it is absolutely necessary to prevent any situation that could give rise to wars or even a new world war.

The GDR and the other socialist countries emphatically and constructively advocate the course of detente and of its continuation and extension. As comrade Leonid Brezhnev justly pointed out a short time ago, all of the important resolutions concerning the consolidation of peace and the containment of the arms race, which during the 1970's in particular were adopted by international assemblies, and the most important negotiations on these problems were the result of initiatives of socialist countries. Their concrete proposals concerning the problems of disarmament and of

international cooperation represent a comprehensive, farsighted and realistic program for the safeguarding of peace in our era. We will keep fighting for implementation of this program.

Since the United States, the FRG and other countries of the Western alliance are accelerating their armament measures and since they seem to regard the production and stationing of new American nuclear medium-range rockets in Western Europe as a foregone conclusion, the Warsaw Pact states cannot remain inactive. They cannot shut their eyes to the fact that the threatening and violent policy of the imperialist opponents of detente, which is motivated by the desire for extension of influence and for oil and raw material deposits and which is directed against the independence and freedom of many nations, not only those of the Middle and Near East, increases the likelihood of military conflicts. Consequently, we in the GDR do our utmost constantly to keep our defensive capability at the level required. We combine an active peace policy with the readiness to repel any aggressive act. In the declaration on disarmament, our people unanimously affirmed that what we have jointly and laboriously built in over 30 years must never again be laid in ruins. Our socialist homeland is to keep thriving and prospering. To attain this goal, much remains to be done.

The policy intended to further the welfare of the people comprises--in the form adopted by the Ninth SED Congress--the safeguarding of peace and of the internal preconditions for the continuous improvement of the workers' material and cultural living standard. The very first steps of our new beginning were part of the global conflict over social progress and international security. Under these conditions, to work for economic development and social progress also meant to help consolidate the positions of the peace-oriented forces in the world.

In those days, when the enterprises of the Nazi and war criminals on the territory of the present GDR were nationalized, we thus showed we had learned an important lesson of history. The monopoly capital lost the crucial basis of its pernicious influence--economic power--and a first step was taken toward socialist ownership of the means of production. What the people's hands had created was now the property of the people. The working class and its party were confronted with the task of economic management.

The spokesmen of international capitalism prophesied a short life for our republic and its economy and this was in keeping with the convictions of the bourgeoisie. Indeed, judged by their profit-oriented logic, our economy was not viable. On account of the heavy war-time destruction, our production volume in 1946 amounted--all of our efforts notwithstanding--to a mere 42 percent of the output of 1936. In agriculture and in the transport sector, the situation was similar. Moreover, the manufacturing industry in the then Soviet zone of occupation was cut off from its traditional raw material and power bases in the West. Besides, the former imperialist Germany had been characterized by an East-West productivity gradient, which from the outset complicated our starting situation.

Nevertheless, production recovered and showed impressive gains. In 1950, it exceeded the prewar level and by 1979, it showed a 23-fold increase over 1946.

Such a rise speaks highly of the skills and industry of the workers of our country. During all stages of social progress, our Party was concerned with developing the workers' creative capacities and making full use of them for the benefit of the people. It was in this direction that we developed the socialist planned economy, which showed its superior potential on German soil as well--an area which the monopoly capitalists once had considered their permanent possession. New requirements resulting from the growth of the productive forces were dealt with not in accordance with capitalist prescriptions, with which we, too, were well-provided; rather, they were met through the continuous improvement of the socialist planned economy. Relying on its capacities, we were able to repel the diverse economic attacks of the class enemy--ranging from currency manipulation and open sabotage to the well-known boycott attempts.

At the beginning of the 1970's, our Party took comprehensive steps to accomplish the task of developing in our country the advanced socialist society. The primary objective was further to raise the material and cultural living standard of the people on the basis of a high rate of development of socialist production and of increased efficiency, accelerated scientific-technological progress and improved labor productivity. Inseparably linked with this was the hitherto farthest-reaching change in our planned economy--its full orientation toward socialist intensification as the principal means of economic growth. The economic and sociopolitical results of the past decade radically changed the material-technological basis and the productive capacity of our national economy. The improvements in the workers' material and cultural living standard which they produced were the maximum improvements possible within such a time span. Thirty-five years ago, in view of the cities and villages destroyed by the war, who would have imagined the dimensions in which we are presently trying to overcome the housing shortage as a social problem.

The economic and social program adopted by the Ninth SED Congress is being continued. Due to the changes in the international situation, this is by no means a simple matter. Since our expenditures on raw materials and fuel have increased considerably, the mere safeguarding of the considerable level of development attained in our country calls for improved economic performance. This is all the more true, since we want to continue gradually to improve the working and living conditions, rapidly to adjust the material-technological basis to the high demands of the future and to insure the continuous harmonious development of all social sectors. It is against this background that one must interpret the demand of our Party to attain labor productivity growth rates that clearly exceed the hitherto customary level. The further development of the advanced socialist society presupposes vigorous economic growth. It calls for sharp increases in economic performance.

In accord with the aforementioned necessities is the economic strategy which was formulated at the Ninth SED Congress and further developed at the Central Committee sessions. Our Party has made allowance for the fact that the production growth rates must be realized in the face of reduced increases in energy and raw materials. The social working time fund is unlikely to expand--a very significant aspect. Consequently, the process of socialist intensification of production must be intensified. Its progress must be reflected in a markedly improved input-output ratio, in a high degree of economic efficiency. In this regard, the key problem is to insure a more consistent utilization of the advantages offered by socialism for the advancement of scientific-technological progress.

These advantages are of a fundamental nature: First and foremost, in our country the radical changes in regard to the productive forces are consciously and systematically effected for the benefit of man. Thus only socialism creates the conditions conducive to making scientific-technological progress the subject of mass initiative. The international monopoly capital has been quite successful in the attempt to translate scientific findings into profit. For the working people, however, the concomitant capitalist efficiency measures spelt terror--they were equivalent to unemployment and fear of the future. In our country, the objective is to translate scientific findings into superior results of social work, which will enable us actively to participate in the international commodity exchange and at the same time to raise the material and cultural living standard of the people. This is possible. The scientific-technological advances impose new demands on the socialist planned economy. At the same time, they help the workers to solve the tasks confronting them. It is a historically proven fact that only socialism is able to combine scientific, technological and economic dynamics with social security.

The socialist planned economy provides all the opportunities for concentrating capacities and assets on the crucial sectors of scientific-technological progress. Good examples in this regard are our measures concerning the development of microelectronics, the production and use of industrial robots and the expanded utilization of electronic computers. The objective is to produce superior results in fields of special importance as well as to accelerate the rate of scientific-technological progress and broadly to utilize it for the development of the economy. These two elements form an integral whole.

To control the complex process of combining science, technology, investments and production and to control it in the face of a stormy international process of development is no mean task for our planned economy. Thus an expedient application of democratic centralism to the changed conditions is imperative. The development and improvement of the combines and the conclusions drawn from this for the central management and planning of our economy undoubtedly represent important steps in this direction. The exchange of experience that took place in Gera is convincing proof of this.



Naturally, it would be too narrow an approach, if within such a framework one considered only the economic realm. It is one of the crucial advantages of socialism that it is able to plan and implement the scientific-technological revolution as a process affecting society as a whole. Our practical policies can and must proceed from the awareness of the importance of science in social life and in the consciousness of the people. Science rests on the solid foundation of the close alliance of the working class, the cooperative farmers and the socialist intelligentsia, which alliance is reflected in increasingly profitable socialist community work. The planned advances in regard to improved work quality and efficiency would be inconceivable without the significant results of our uniform socialist system of education. Thus in the truest sense of the word, we are concerned here with a task affecting society as a whole.

In the 1980's, to protect the range of options of our social policy and the present and future interests of our German Democratic Republic calls more than ever for production on an advanced scientific-technological level. It is only in this way that the great skills and experience of the workers can be effectively utilized for the development of the economy and for the improvement of their own living conditions.

For the further development of the advanced socialist society in our republic, comprehensive cooperation with the Soviet Union is of crucial importance. In the increasingly close collaboration with the USSR and the other friendly socialist countries, the advantages of socialism assume concrete form on an international scale. A short time ago, the GDR and the USSR adopted the program for production specialization and cooperation up to 1990. The coordination of our countries' five-year plans for the period from 1981 to 1985, through which we will be able to attain a trade volume amounting to 48 billion rubles, illustrates the new dimensions thus opening up for our cooperation. What with the close interaction of these documents and the long-term CEMA programs, the course for the 1980's is clearly defined. In our view, it is an objective law that the further development of the socialist system of our country is accompanied by continuous intensification of the cooperation with the USSR and the entire community of socialist states.

To insure stable long-term economic development, it is necessary to establish a number of basic economic preconditions. Under the present conditions, dependable supplies of raw materials and fuel are of special importance. Relying to a great extent on the resources of the USSR, the community of socialist states is for the most part able to solve this problem independently. The enormous Soviet shipments of raw materials and fuel, which we compensate for the most part with modern products of the machine building industry, are of vital importance for our country. The prices we pay are markedly lower than those paid on the capitalist world market; in accordance with the mechanism agreed upon within CEMA, they rise more slowly than those in the nonsocialist economic area. But this is by no means the only advantage. What is perhaps even more important is the



assured continuity of such large supplies over a long period. No capitalist state can boast such stability. For the structure of the GDR's next five-year plan, it is a solid foundation.

We are and will be relying on the intensive cooperation in the principal fields of the scientific-technological revolution. One need only mention here the fields of microelectronics and of computers--ESER (uniform electronic data processing system) has by now become a well-known concept--and the expansion of the material-technological basis for the production of nuclear energy. It is precisely in regard to such problems, the solution of which is ultimately the determining factor for the future economic position of a country, that a high rate is largely a function of the degree of cooperation.

Thus the further assimilation of the economies of the USSR and the GDR is increasingly marked by accelerated scientific-technological progress and its extensive economic utilization. As is the case even now, the diverse forms of cooperation will further tighten the network of human relations, which links the enterprises, cooperatives, scientific institutions, cities and villages of our countries. In the cooperative work aimed at solving the problems involved in socialist and communist construction, our friendship flourishes. This is how it was; this is how it is now and this is how it will always be.

The 35th anniversary of the liberation from Hitler fascism is a significant event in the life of our people. On this occasion, many people in our country will remember the beginnings of our republic and they will be proud of what has been achieved. It is not least the awareness of our history which is a source of strength for the solution of the problems encountered in further progress, in the struggle for socialism and peace.

In keeping with the wishes of veteran activists, the memorable anniversary has inspired many work collectives and innumerable citizens of our republic to launch new drives for the universal consolidation of our socialist workers' and farmers' state. Thus they are simultaneously preparing for the 10th SED Congress, which will convene at the beginning of 1981 and which will define the further objectives concerning socialist construction.

Norden: GDR's 'Special Responsibility'

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 35 No 5, May 80 signed to press 7 Apr 80 pp 458-464

[Article by Albert Norden, SED Politburo member and Central Committee secretary for propaganda: "On the Occasion of the 35th Anniversary of the Liberation from Hitler Fascism: The Decisive Feat"]

[Text] The victory of the Soviet Union over the German fascist imperialists was the decisive act that opened up a new stage in

the global revolutionary process, which stage is characterized by further fundamental achievements in the struggle for peace, democracy, social progress and national independence; as a result, it is actually possible today to thwart the aggressive plans of imperialism. Our people made use of the opportunity offered by the liberating act of the Soviet Union; under the direction of our Party, radical revolutionary changes were made, as a result of which there emerged the GDR which is an integral part of the socialist community.

In the development of mankind, there are events, the historic significance of which becomes all the more apparent, the farther they recede in time. Undoubtedly, the liberation of the nations, including the German nation, from the yoke of fascism by the Soviet Union is one of these events.

Thirty-five years have passed since that day of spring in 1945, on which soldiers of the Soviet army raised the red flag in Berlin and thus marked the victory of socialism over German fascist imperialism. The attempt of the then most aggressive imperialist power to attain global supremacy had ended in its crushing defeat. Hitler fascism, this most reactionary vanguard of world imperialism, had aimed to turn back the wheel of history, to destroy socialism. However, what came of it was a powerful acceleration of the global revolutionary process and the consolidation of socialism, of social progress in the world.

Since then, imperialism has forfeited important positions and spheres of influence; it lost for good the historic initiative. All this is attributable primarily to the Soviet Union, whose position as a socialist great power was further consolidated by the military victory over fascism. Without or against the Soviet Union, no problem concerning world politics can be lastingly solved. In many countries of Europe and Asia, including our own country, the masses were able to begin to develop socialism and to cast off for good the chains of exploitation and subjugation. The socialist world system represents a world-historically new fact--the alliance of sovereign states linked by fraternal cooperation. In no other time in history was the role of the masses so clearly apparent and the cause of peace, national independence, democracy and social progress so successful as in the period after May 1945.

All of the historically positive factors that have characterized the course of international events during the last 35 years up to the present are ultimately connected with the victory of the Soviet Union over Hitler Germany. None of the countermoves of imperialism could or can alter this fact.

#### **The Fascist Aggressor Defeated by Socialism**

When the German imperialists with their enormous military forces treacherously attacked the Soviet Union in June 1941, they thought they had taken

the most important step toward implementation of their rapacious program of conquest. Regardless of where its strikes were directed in the preceding years, German imperialism always regarded the Soviet Union as the principal obstacle to the world supremacy it desired, to its plans concerning the subjugation and pillage of other nations and the extermination of millions of people. The fascist aggressors, blinded by their initial military success, hoped to be able quickly to attain their objectives. However, for the first time German imperialism encountered the material and intellectual capacities of the socialist system, which is characterized by freedom from exploitation. World War II turned into a bitter struggle between two contrary social systems; from this struggle, socialism emerged victorious. Led by the party of Lenin, the peoples of the Soviet Union defended against the attack of the barbarians not only their own freedom and their hard-won achievements, but also the progress of all of mankind. They bore most of the war burden and made the greatest sacrifices. It was at the Soviet-German front that the crucial battles were fought, that the fascist intruders were dealt the decisive blows. In this life-and-death struggle, the Soviet people--led by the Communists--accomplished unprecedented feats. As one of the participants in the Moscow World Peace Congress of 1973, I will never forget L. I. Brezhnev's words: "The Soviet people, who in the struggle against fascism lost over 20 million of its citizens, knows full well the meaning of war and the immeasurable distress it entails for the people. For us Soviet people, the Great Patriotic War was not only a struggle for the freedom and independence of our homeland. It was also a struggle for the salvation of world civilization, for a future just peace."<sup>1</sup>

Innumerable facts testify to the great impact that the Soviet Union made on the nations' liberation struggle against fascism. The antifascist resistance movements received a powerful impetus. Millions of people in the enslaved or threatened countries took heart and--influenced by the crushing blows of the Red Army--intensified their opposition to the enemy. Well-known representatives of the ruling circles of capitalist states, who in the anti-Hitler coalition--side by side with the Soviet Union--opposed the aggressor, could not help expressing their appreciation and gratitude for the heroism of the socialist army, the superhuman production efforts in the rear and the heroic defense activities of the entire Soviet nation. This is evidence of the great political and moral respect that the Soviet Union enjoys with millions of people in the world. They understood that their own future and their future welfare depended on the victory of the first socialist country of the world. They began to realize that this country and this people were invincible.

All this is attributable to the vitality, the strength and the superiority of the socialist social system over capitalism. All of the hopes of the international reactionary forces for the downfall of the Soviet Union came to nothing. The Soviet Union emerged victorious; it acquired enormous international prestige, formulated new principles governing human morals as well as humane rules for social life and instilled in the peoples justified hope for a lasting peace.

## Lenin's Peace Policy Assumes New Dimensions

The victory over Hitler fascism and its accomplices and the concomitant changes in the international distribution of forces gave rise to historically new opportunities for the realization of mankind's age-old dream of the establishment of eternal peace. Subsequent to the Red October, this goal--an integral part of the struggle of the revolutionary workers' movement--became the state doctrine of the first socialist state. The crushing defeat of the fascist conquerors had shown that in our era--a period increasingly marked by the reality of socialism--the imperialist policy of aggression no longer has any real chances of success and that it turns back on its originators. The bloody resistance against fascism confirmed millions of people in the resolve to do their utmost to establish a lasting peace in Europe and the world and to prevent military adventures of imperialism. It was the bitter experience of World War II that impelled the people to create a world without any imperialist threat of war, without any arms race, psychological warfare, or striving for supremacy. The people longed for a time when the nations would be able to live together and compete peacefully, to use the huge sums spent on armaments for the solution of important tasks of mankind--such as the elimination of starvation, epidemics and illiteracy, the opening up of sources of energy and raw materials--and for culture, sports and other humanistic objectives.

The nations' expectations and hopes for a lasting peace were reflected in the UN Charter and in the resolutions adopted at the Potsdam Conference. A few years later, when the imperialist powers broke up the anti-Hitler coalition and started the cold war against the Soviet Union, these hopes resulted in the world peace movement. Through its wide range and high degree of organization, this movement testifies in its own way to the new qualities of our time.

Any retrospective view of the past 35 years shows that the world of today is fundamentally different from that at the end of the 1940's. In Asia, Africa and Latin America in particular, imperialism lost spheres of influence. There has emerged a broad national independence movement comprising diverse peoples and states. On all continents, the working class has acquired greater influence. And above all, it is impossible to overlook the vigorous development of the influence and power of the Soviet Union, the advance of the socialist community.

It is an historically logical consequence: In proclaiming Lenin's peace decree, the Soviet state entered the arena of world politics. It was the Soviet Union that made the decisive contribution to the defeat of fascism and that in the 35 years since the end of World War II has kept working effectively toward the consolidation of peace, the curbing of new aggressors, the prevention of any attempt to export the counterrevolution. All this is evidence of the fact that the Soviet Union is the principal force in support of peace in our era--socialism and peace form an integral whole.



Ever since the establishment of the Soviet state--and especially so at the present time--imperialist politicians and ideologists have been disseminating the lie of a "threat from the East." This is part of their arsenal of psychological warfare, and the purpose is obvious. This lie is intended to arouse fear among the masses and to prevent an objective, unbiased evaluation of the Soviet peace policy so as to justify the imperialist arms race. From Hitler, who with the lie of the "defense" of Western "civilization against the Bolshevist threat" camouflaged his war crimes and plans for world conquest, down to the present preachers of a "Soviet threat", there is a straight line--the poisoning of the minds for the purposes of a war-oriented policy, the murder of millions, the profiteering.

Those politicians and military leaders of the West, who in the 1950's defended or led the attack by the U.S. imperialists on Korea and--a little later--on Vietnam, who at times intensified the cold war in Europe to the verge of disaster and who arranged West Germany's membership in NATO, are now welcoming this mendacious thesis and the defamations supporting it. However, the truth is that the armament monopolies profit by these dealings in death. The world-renowned communist novelist and Nobel prize winner Anatole France aptly characterized this policy, stating: "People think they die for the fatherland, but they die for industrialists."<sup>2</sup>

#### Brzezinski's Concept

It has been evident for a long time that the militant circles of U.S. imperialism regard the policy of detente as a serious obstacle to their hegemony. This is reflected in the escalation of the arms race, in the accelerated expansion of military bases all over the globe, including the establishment of a "task force."

At the beginning of August 1979, the U.S. security advisor, Brzezinski, who exerts great influence on President Carter, outlined the objective of the American military-industrial complex as follows: "The American military power must be in a position to protect our most important interests abroad, including the three vital strategic zones outside of our hemisphere: Western Europe, the Near East and the Far East."<sup>3</sup> A consistent imperialist politician, Brzezinski proposed as early as the 1960's to separate the GDR from the community of socialist states and to "shake" the community's "interest in East Germany." The author stated that toward the GDR one should adopt "a policy of isolation."<sup>4</sup> And what is the purpose behind all this? The GDR is to become an easy prey to the imperialists.

According to an interview given by this politician, which was published in 1976 under the title "From Cold War to Cold Peace", he defines detente as follows: "If detente is to be more than a temporary and basically unstable relationship, it must become much more comprehensive than is presently considered necessary, and this means a possibly gradual, but nonetheless fundamental change in the Soviet positions at home and abroad."<sup>5</sup> In plain language, this means elimination of socialism and of its internationalist



foreign policy. In justification of his policy of force, Brzezinski drew up a secret memorandum, on which THE WASHINGTON POST on 31 October 1979 published the following comment: "It is a plan for the revival of the cold war." Brzezinski's memorandum, which is to be implemented as a three-stage program, proceeds from the position of the "hardest-possible course against the Kremlin."

The world is thirsting for peace, while the Brzezinskis are thirsting for new bloodshed. They regard the planet as their heritage. The incipient American "task force", which is composed above all of the notorious "leathernecks", is expressly intended to subjugate the powers and their raw materials to the United States. Thus Brzezinski calls for the preparation of an intervention against Cuba and for military support for anti-communist governments in the Western hemisphere. According to his conception, the CIA bears "the principal responsibility for the secret instigation of anti-Soviet propaganda abroad."<sup>6</sup>

In this connection, one should call to mind that in the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, which was signed in Helsinki in August 1975, the European states, the United States and Canada committed themselves "to take effective measures so as eventually to bring about general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international supervision."<sup>7</sup> In this respect, the imperialist powers still have a great deal to do to make their deeds correspond to their words. Mankind does not want to be locked into an arms race. What mankind wants and supports to the best of its abilities is the termination of the arms race; it wants detente and the preservation of peace and security in Europe and in the whole world.

Now as ever, it is imperialism with its unsolvable internal and external contradictions and with its periodically recurring crises, which is the source of the threat of war, of the arms race and of international tensions. Neither zealous attempts at palliation nor rabid anti-Soviet agitation can obscure the fact that there has not been the slightest change in imperialism's rapacious, aggressive nature, in the danger it represents for the life and future of mankind. Lenin's characterization of imperialism is as valid as ever. However, what has changed in the years since 1945 is that it is possible now offensively and successfully to counter the imperialist threat. And this is the basic reason why the Soviet disarmament proposals at the United Nations or other international forums have assumed such great political importance.

**Break the Tragic Cycle!**

Thanks to the country of Lenin, to the purposeful, consistently Marxist-Leninist policy of the CPSU, the nations of Europe, which were plunged by imperialism into two horrible world wars, have been enjoying the hitherto longest period of peace in our century. Despite all the assistance rendered by the Beijing leadership, the range of action of the warmongers was

restricted in other parts of the world as well, above all in Southeast Asia, and their policy of expansion and of subjugation of other nations was thwarted.

In his PRAVDA interview of last January, comrade L. I. Brezhnev stated in this connection: "Taking a broad view, one can say that the most important move practicable was the breaking of this tragic cycle: world war--short peace interlude--again world war. We, the Soviet people and our friends--the peoples of the socialist fraternal countries and all the people who have been fighting and who keep fighting for peace, detente and peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems--can justly be proud of this historic result."<sup>8</sup>

However, as is shown by international developments, it is necessary that we intensify our efforts to insure lasting peace and to stop imperialist incendiaries. Influential forces, above all forces in the United States, act as though the outcome of World War II and the following decades did not again and again demonstrate the unsuitability of the imperialist policy of force. It is precisely on account of the fact that the world has so radically changed in favor of socialism and peace and that the process of detente has especially on the European continent brought about changes favorable to the nations that these circles have now begun to launch massive attacks. They believe they can approach the Soviet Union from a "position of strength."

The NATO resolution of December 1979, to which the FRG actively contributed and which is concerned with the production of new, highly dangerous nuclear weapons systems and with the stationing of a large contingent of these nuclear rockets in the FRG, is aimed--a fact openly admitted--against the Soviet Union, the country that contributed the most to the annihilation of fascism and to the liberation of the nations and that is taking the lead in the struggle for peace and detente.

We are fully aware of the gravity of the situation. The historical experience gained in dealing with imperialism impels us to do our utmost to prevent the adventurers from involving the nations in military conflicts. The power of socialism and the striving of a great many people for peace and mutual understanding have become so strong in large parts of the world that there are ample opportunities to thwart the machinations of the would-be aggressors. Now as ever, it is a fact that peace is not a free gift. Thus we are doing our utmost to safeguard--even under complex conditions--the inviolability of socialism and to contribute to its defense and consolidation. It is only in this way that the roads toward continuation of the process of detente can be kept open.

#### A Variant That Could Come to Pass

The year 1945 is justly considered the starting point of a qualitatively new, higher stage of the revolutionary upheaval that was initiated by the

Red October. For this year gave the peoples of Europe the opportunity to establish a system based on peace and to insure that life and civilization are safe from the fire of a global imperialist conflagration.

The lessons of history are one thing; to follow them is a different matter. In the documents of the anti-Hitler coalition--from the Atlantic charter of August 1941 to the resolutions adopted at Tehran, Yalta and Potsdam--the United States, Great Britain and the Soviet Union committed themselves to the establishment of a just and lasting peace. In regard to this basic position, there were no differences at that time; nor were there any differences on issues such as the prohibition of all militaristic or fascist propaganda, the conviction and punishment of all war criminals, the removal of all fascists from public and semipublic offices, the elimination of all military and Nazi influences from the field of education and the democratic reorganization of political life.

These shared antifascist-democratic positions have been systematically implemented on the territory of the present GDR. In 1945, the point of departure was the same in all parts of Germany. There was "only" one difference: The Potsdam Agreement was violated by the responsible parties in the West, before the ink of their signatures was dry.

Where would Europe be today, if the hopes of the nations had not been dashed, if the agreements had not been made a farce by the imperialist powers? As was the case in the GDR, a broad democratization of both the state and society would have taken place in the West. There would have been no remilitarization and no rearmament, nor would there have been attentive care for the routes of imperialism and militarism. If the new course had been taken,

- the political and economic controls in the FRG would be in the hands of the masses, who would have removed those who presently are concentrating on building military-economic capacities exceeding those that were available to Hitler;
- the armed forces of the FRG would be led--as is the case in our country--by antifascist generals guarding the peace in Europe; and those inveterate militarists would be divested of their power, who have been glorified instead and who have been trained for nuclear war;
- there would no longer exist anywhere a judicial system that protects the murderers of innocent victims of fascism;
- the schools and the minds of all citizens in both the East and the West would have been cleared of the poisonous ideology of revanchism and anti-communism and--as is the case in the GDR--ample space would have been created--in both thought and action--for a humane spirit and for good fellowship with all peoples of the continent.

Europe would have set an example as a pacified continent, on which security and friendly relations are firmly established.

A vision? It could be reality today. As yet, however, Europe has not been liberated from the threat of war and the residues of fascism. This is why we have increased our vigilance in the face of the words and deeds of imperialist forces and powers; this is why we are daily renewing our efforts aimed at consolidating and making invincible the front of the peace-oriented forces.

The people of Europe--and not only of Europe--are calling for social progress and international cooperation; they want a life filled with happiness.

#### The GDR Seized the Opportunity

The liberating act of the Soviet Union and its allies imposed a special responsibility on our people. After all, it was on German soil that the two world wars originated. At the same time, the liberation gave us the opportunity through the defeat of German imperialism to eliminate in the center of Europe the causes of fascism and war and to open up the road toward peaceful coexistence with other nations. The objectives pursued by the Soviet Union in the war against Hitler Germany and the agreements of the anti-Hitler coalition were all the more realistic, since they fully conformed to the wishes of the German antifascists, to the interests of the people.

It is one of the historic achievements of our Marxist-Leninist party--which is closely linked to the revolutionary traditions of the antifascist and anti-war struggle of the German working class--to have directed our people to this new course. As a result of the free decision and action of its citizens, as a result of radical revolutionary changes, the GDR became an integral part of the socialist community. Thanks to the Soviet Union and the fraternal support by the CPSU, we have always been able to continue our advance. Situated at the boundary dividing socialism and imperialism in Europe, our state is bent on fully discharging its responsibilities.

At the 11th Central Committee session and in his speech before the first secretaries of the SED kreis [GDR administrative unit] administrations, comrade Erich Honecker pointed to the increased requirements imposed on our country as a result of the intensification of international tensions. He emphasized that in the community of Warsaw Pact states our country will do its utmost "to further through resolute action the process of detente and to work toward concrete disarmament measures. Consistent advocacy of the preservation of peace, of the termination of the arms race, and of detente is an integral part of our policy. The mandate to this effect was confirmed by the over 13.1 million GDR citizens, who with their signatures supported the peace initiative launched by comrade Brezhnev. Peace is the objective of our people; it is the key principle, the most important goal of our socialist foreign policy."<sup>9</sup>

An offensive policy of this kind--a policy oriented toward the safeguarding of peace, toward the defense of socialism under any conditions of the class conflict--is given a solid foundation through any action that strengthens the German Democratic Republic. The 11th Central Committee session, which ushered in the period of preparation for the 10th Party Congress, outlined the tasks concerning intensified economic performance. Unswervingly, in eternal alliance with the Soviet Union, committed to the struggle for peace, we are continuing--in the face of an aggravated situation in the field of foreign trade--to implement the program of full employment, national affluence, growth and stability, which was conceived by the Eighth and Ninth Party Congresses. This is what we consider our historic mission.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. L. I. Brezhnev, "For a Just, Democratic Peace, for the Security of the Nations and for International Cooperation," in: "Auf dem Wege Lenins" [On Lenin's Course], Vol 4, Berlin, 1975, p 329.
2. From a letter by Anatole France to Marcel Cochin, L'HUMANITE, 18 July 1922.
3. Zbigniew Brzezinski, "American Power and Global Change," from the speech delivered at the conference of the "International Platform Association," ICA-BULLETIN, 3 August 1979.
4. Zbigniew Brzezinski, "Alternative to Partition," New York, 1965, p 139.
5. Zbigniew Brzezinski, "From Cold War to Cold Peace," in: G. R. Urban, "Detente," New York, 1976, pp 264-265.
6. THE WASHINGTON POST, 31 October 1979.
7. "Fuer Entspannung und dauerhaften Frieden in Europa, Dokumente" [For Detente and Lasting Peace in Europe, Documents], Berlin, 1977, p 142.
8. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 14 January 1980, p 3.
9. Erich Honecker, "Die naechsten Aufgaben der Partei bei der weiteren Durchfuehrung der Beschluesse des IX. Parteitages der SED" [The Next Tasks of the Party in the Further Implementation of the Resolutions of the Ninth SED Congress], Berlin, 1980, p 14.

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GDR LEADERS REVIEW WARSAW PACT DEVELOPMENT

West German Commentary

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 30 Apr 80 p 5

[Article signed 'Ws,' datelined Berlin, 29 April: "GDR: No Units Stationed in Africa." A translation of the GDR defense minister's East Berlin EINHEIT article discussed below follows this commentary]

[Text] The GDR minister of defense, Army General Hoffmann, denied Western reports, according to which the GDR stationed military units in Africa. In an article published on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the conclusion of the Warsaw Pact--which will be celebrated on 14 May in Warsaw, probably through a conference of all party and government leaders of the member states--the SED Politburo member stated in EINHEIT, the theoretical organ of his party: "In truth, no units of our National People's Army were or are stationed in any African country; and the oft-mentioned 'Willi Saenger' paratroop battalion, whose red berets the Western intelligence experts claim to have located in Angola and also in Ethiopia, discharges its duties not in Africa or Asia, but--now as before--on GDR territory." The author points out that just as at the beginning of the 1950's, when the GDR armed forces did not yet exist, NATO's psychological warfare experts had kept referring to hundreds of thousands of "red Prussians" so as to legitimize the remilitarization of the Federal Republic, today reference is made to thousands of members of the National People's Army, who allegedly are engaged in propagating world revolution in Africa and in blocking the raw material sources of the capitalist industrialized states. According to Hoffmann, this is nonsense. It is remarkable that Hoffmann denies only the presence in Africa of "units of the National People's Army." However, respectable sources never claimed that the GDR maintains entire troop contingents in Africa. Rather, it was again and again pointed out that the GDR had dispatched hundreds of military advisers and instructors to Africa and Asia to train the military cadres of states such as Ethiopia, Angola, Mozambique and South Yemen, which maintain especially close ties with the GDR, and to indoctrinate these cadres in the political ideology of Marxism-Leninism. However, this is not what the GDR defense minister denies. He merely is amused about the fact that Strauss, the CDU/CSU candidate for the

chancellorship regards as "too meager" the figure--quoted by a Hamburg paper--of a total of 2,720 GDR military advisors in African states and keeps referring to 30,000 to 40,000 Honecker troops in Africa.

In his article, Hoffmann announces that the GDR army is now being equipped with the modern Soviet T-72 tank. He points out that due to the economic integration of the Warsaw Pact states, it is possible--on the basis of Soviet technology or Soviet licenses--to insure a high degree of uniformity in regard to provision of the armies with key weapons systems and equipment. "Thus all of our armored troops are equipped with tanks of the Soviet T-54/55 and T-62 series, and in the coming years, they will be equipped with the new T-72, whereas the NATO troops have at their disposal--aside from various American tank models--West German, British and French tanks."

#### Increased Defense Capability Needed

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 35 No 5, May 80 signed to press 7 Apr 80 pp 474-481

['25 Years of Warsaw Pact' feature article by Army General Heinz Hoffmann, member, SED Central Committee Politburo; GDR minister for national defense: "The Socialist Military Coalition--Trusty Shield of Socialism." A translation of the Hamburg DER SPIEGEL article, cited in footnote 4 below, is published under the heading, "Development of GDR Aid Policy in Africa Reviewed," in JPRS 75327, 18 Mar 80, No 1773 of this series, pp 55-68]

[Text] Reflections on Defense in the Warsaw Pact

Sixty years ago, in February 1920, V. I. Lenin replied by telegraph to several questions on the international political situation and the foreign policy of the Soviet Union, which had been submitted to him by the Berlin correspondent of the U.S. daily NEW YORK EVENING JOURNAL. These replies by Lenin contain basic reflections on the elimination of the causes of war in the age of imperialism and on the policy of peaceful coexistence of states of different social systems. At the same time, Lenin refuted insolent claims to the effect that Soviet Russia intended to attack its Western neighbors and he demonstrated that in fact it was Soviet Russia that was threatened by the imperialist states.

In reply to the question what he regarded as the foundations of peace with America, Lenin stated: "The American capitalists should leave us alone. We on our part will leave them alone. We are even prepared to give them gold in exchange for machines, tools and similar products that are useful for production and transportation. Indeed, not only gold, but also raw materials." And to the question, whether Russia still had to fear counter-revolutionary interference from outside, Lenin sharply replied: "Unfortunately, this is so, for the capitalists are stupid and greedy. They made a number of attempts at interference that were so stupid and greedy that we

have reason to fear they will be repeated, as long as the workers and farmers in every country have not re-educated their capitalists."<sup>1</sup>

Since then, 60 years have passed. Some of the states that at that time seriously threatened Soviet Russia are now socialist states, in which the working class is in control and closely allied with the peoples of the Soviet Union. All in all, the international distribution of forces has undergone enormous changes--in favor of the Soviet Union and of socialism and peace. However, Lenin's basic assessments are still as valid as they were 60 years ago:

- Now as before, the Soviet Union wants "to be left alone" by the imperialists; it is interested in intensive and mutually beneficial economic relations with the capitalist states;
- the imperialists, on the other hand, keep disseminating the lie that the Soviet power intends to attack its neighbors;
- the imperialists have not given up their attempts to interfere in the affairs of the liberated workers and farmers and to prepare interventions.

#### The FRG's Accession to NATO Aggravated the Situation

One of the most important instruments the imperialists created for this purpose is the NATO pact, which on account of the accession of the FRG 25 years ago grew more threatening. As a result of the ratification of the Paris Agreements in the spring of 1955, there came to pass what the Soviet Union and the other socialist states of Europe had emphatically warned against: The forced remilitarization of reborn German imperialism and the open proclamation of the forcible "reunification of Germany within the borders of 1937" as the objective of Bonn's policy brought about such radical changes in the political and military situation in Europe that the socialist states--threatened by the revanchism of German imperialism and by NATO's "roll back" strategy--were forced to form a defensive alliance. Likewise, this situation compelled the GDR to establish its own armed forces to defend the political independence and the social achievements of the working people of the German workers' and farmers' state.

I had the privilege of witnessing the historic negotiations of the Warsaw Conference. On 14 May 1955, the "Agreement on Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance" was solemnly concluded in the Hall of Columns of the State Council Building. The chairman of the Council of Ministers, Otto Grotewohl, signed on the authority of the president of the GDR, Wilhelm Pieck. Our delegation comprised Walter Ulbricht, Willi Stoph and leading representatives of all of the other political parties of the GDR. This is evidence of the solidarity of all classes and strata in regard to the protection of the national interests of our people and the safeguarding of peace.

## **Alleged and Actual Danger**

Leafing through newspapers published in 1955, one is struck by the historical parallelism of some phenomena--e.g. the former and the present reasons advanced by the imperialists in justification of their preparations for war. Bourgeois politicians and mass media of the NATO states prattled at that time--and presently continue prattling--about the military strength of the USSR, labeling the Soviet armed forces potential aggressors.

Marshal of the Soviet Union G. K. Zhukov--at that time defense minister of the USSR and likewise participant in the Warsaw Conference--told the owner of the American Hearst press concern in the spring of 1955: "It should be pointed out that if we had pursued such a policy and if we had harbored such plans, we would have had ample opportunity to take advantage of our military strength: After the defeat of Hitler Germany, Europe was very weak; Great Britain was exhausted. Toward the end of the war, the Soviet Union had at its disposal enormous military forces. We did not take advantage of the weakness of Western Europe."<sup>2</sup> The conclusion that Marshal Zhukov drew from his exposition in 1955 could in 1980 be published as a commentary on the massive defamation of Soviet foreign policy in connection with the events in Afghanistan: "The intentions underlying the intimidation of the nations through reference to an act of aggression on the part of the Soviet Union are clearly malevolent; they are oriented not toward preservation of peace, but toward propagation of a new war. Thus it is necessary to put an end to this."<sup>3</sup>

Likewise, at the present time, anticommunist horror stories are disseminated by the Springer press and other imperialist organs manipulating public opinion. From the alleged use of chemical agents in Afghanistan to stories about accidents involving biological weapons--to these specialists in obscurantism no lie or trick is too big or dirty to be used against the Soviet Union. And now as before, there are the phantom divisions of the GDR Armed Forces that newspapers from Hamburg to Munich keep bringing up. At the beginning of the 1950's, the GDR army did not yet exist--but in NATO's psychological warfare hundreds of thousands of "red Prussians" served as a bogey to justify the Federal Republic's remilitarization under Hitler generals as a legitimate protective measure of the "free West."

Today it is thousands of NVA [National People's Army] members who allegedly are preparing the world revolution in Africa and who are blocking up the raw material sources of the capitalist industrialized states. I need only mention here the Hamburg news magazine that recently managed to concoct a title story on "Honecker's Africa Corps", in which the authors claim to have discovered a total of 2,720 GDR military advisers in African states.<sup>4</sup> The minister president of the State of Bavaria, a friend of the South African racists and chancellorship candidate of the CDU/CSU, probably considers such figures too meager. Mr Strauss unabashedly maintained--and many people accept this nonsense: "At present, 30,000 to 40,000 troops of the Honecker army are stationed in Africa and some of these units--approximately 2,000 troops, perhaps even more--are stationed in at least one Arab country, namely in South Yemen."<sup>5</sup>



In reality, no units of our National People's Army were or are stationed in any African country, and the oft-mentioned "Willi Saenger" paratroop battalion, whose red berets the Western intelligence experts claim to have located in Angola and on other occasions in Ethiopia, discharges its duties not in Africa or Asia, but--now as before--on the territory of the GDR.

In reality, it is the military of the United States and of NATO who are engaged all over the world--not only in Africa, but also in the Near and the Middle East, in Southeast Asia and in Latin America--in operations against liberation movements, young nation states and socialist countries. Since the mid-1970's, the Pentagon's strategists have been working on a large-scale plan for establishing--not only in Europe and in the Mediterranean area, but also in Africa and Asia--a zone of confrontation with the Soviet Union and the states friendly toward it and for controlling and rolling back from a ring of bases the anti-imperialist liberation movement of the peoples of Asia and Africa. This includes the United States' present activities, which increasingly involve its NATO partners and which are aimed at

- making greater use of the military bases in Turkey;
- expanding naval and air bases in Israel and making use of Egyptian air fields for strategic reconnaissance and for the stationing of American air forces;
- preparing naval and air bases in Oman, Somalia and Kenya;
- establishing the island of Diego Garcia in the Indian Ocean as a strategic base serving the entire region.

Under the influence of the military-industrial complex, a long-term plan was drawn up concerning the systematic expansion of the military potential of the United States and its allies. For 1981, the United States anticipates a defense budget of approximately \$150 billion! By comparison, in 1969, at the critical stage of the war in Indochina, "merely" \$80 billion were spent! The FRG Government likewise intends further to increase its defense expenditures, although as much as DM 50 billion has already been budgeted for the acquisition of new weapons and equipment.

In the 1980's, the focus of the accelerated expansion of NATO's military potential will remain in Europe, at the main front of the class conflict between the world systems. Thus the lion's share of the NATO members' defense expenditures is used for improving the strategic offensive forces of the United States and for increasing the fighting strength and combat readiness of the NATO forces in Europe and of the Federal Armed Forces in particular.

The three present pillars of the strategic nuclear forces of the United States--the ICBM, the nuclear submarines and the SAC--are to be

complemented by a new, fourth pillar, namely the medium-range and cruise missiles to be stationed in Western Europe. In the event of war, these weapons are supposed to reach within minutes the western and central regions of the Soviet Union and of the other socialist states of Europe. All this shows that it was not as late as the Brussels Missile Resolutions, but at the latest at the adoption of their long-range program in the spring of 1978 that the NATO states vowed to attain military superiority over the Warsaw Pact states, intending to initiate a qualitatively /new/ [word in slantlines printed in italics] phase of the arms race in the field of medium-range missiles.

#### Great Defense Capability a Factor Conducive to Peace

The Soviet Union, the GDR and the other allied states will have to put forth great efforts to be able to counter the various processes taking place in regard to the equipment of the imperialist armed forces with advanced weapons systems and to resist in time the planned expansion of NATO's offensive potential.

However, the socialist countries--representing a global system--have coped with massive threats and acute dangers under much more difficult conditions. One need only recall here the international crises in connection with the counterrevolutionary operations against Hungary and the attack on Egypt in the fall of 1956, the summer and fall of 1961, the crisis in the Caribbean area in 1962, the Near East War of 1967 and the furtive counter-revolution against the CSSR in the summer of 1968. Finally, one should recall the crises of the 1970's: the escalation of U.S. aggression against Vietnam, Laos and Campuchea, the operations launched by Israel against its Arab neighbors and the attacks by the old and new colonial rulers on the peoples in southern Africa.

Thanks to the power of the Soviet Union and the unity and internal strength of the states of the socialist community--which cooperate economically within the framework of CEMA, and politically and militarily, within the framework of the Warsaw Pact--all the imperialist plans for rolling back, softening up and dividing the community of socialist states were thwarted. On the European continent, peace was preserved and gradually stabilized; the NATO states and their accomplices were not able to prevent the just struggle waged by the peoples of Asia and Africa for their national and social liberation; none of the international crises led to a large-scale military conflict or even a third world war. Thus we value the quarter century of the Warsaw Pact and of the socialist defense coalition created by it primarily as a historic triumph of the Leninist peace policy and of the peace-preserving role of the socialist military power. For it is a fact that year after year the course taken by the Warsaw Pact states has been characterized by constructive proposals and compromise offers by the Soviet Union and its allies in regard to detente and preservation of peace. These offers range from the USSR proposals of 10 May 1955

--concerning the destruction of the stockpiles of atomic and hydrogen weapons by all nuclear states;

--concerning a freezing of the armed forces and of the defense expenditures;

--concerning the rights and powers of an international disarmament control agency

to Leonid Brezhnev's Berlin peace initiative of 6 October 1979

--concerning the unilateral withdrawal of Soviet troops from the GDR

--and the readiness to reduce the number of medium-range missiles, if NATO does not come to a decision concerning qualitatively new systems.

In their 25-year history, the Warsaw Pact states have never failed actively to promote arms limitation and disarmament: During the period from May 1955 to May 1958 alone, they reduced their total forces by 2,477,000 troops, and in May 1958, they decided on a further unilateral reduction by 419,000 troops, "in order to induce the Western powers to take concrete disarmament measures and thus to prevent a military clash on the European continent and to avoid the tragedy of a new war."<sup>6</sup>

At the same time, the development of our defensive alliance has always been characterized by the justified and deep concern of its members about their ability to oppose the imperialist states and their military pacts vigilantly and with sufficient strength. V. I. Lenin stated that "a revolution is of any value only if it is able to defend itself..."<sup>7</sup> And as long as there is the danger of an attack by the united imperialist states on the workers' and farmers' power, the coalition of our political and military forces, the fighting alliance of socialist states and armies remains absolutely essential.

This fighting alliance is /fundamentally/ [word in slantlines printed in italics] different from all military coalitions in recorded history. It is the first alliance among states which eliminated exploitation of man by man and to which the conquest of foreign countries is just as alien as the subjugation of other peoples or the appropriation of their natural and social assets. It is the first military alliance in recorded history to have made the prevention of war--not its preparation and unleashing--the principal objective and the motive underlying all actions. Marshal of the Soviet Union A. A. Grechko--the long-time commander in chief of the United Forces and, subsequently, defense minister of the USSR--fully characterized the nature and the historic mission of the socialist military coalition: "The class-oriented, political character of the socialist countries' defensive alliance consists in the fact that it practically embodies the Leninist ideas of proletarian internationalism, that it is directed against the forces opposed to peace and socialism and that it in no way affects or

restricts the interests of other states and peoples. The principal objective of this community is fully to insure the security of the socialist states under conditions that are characterized by the existence of two contrary social systems, reliably to protect the progressive social system against aggressive plots and to create the external conditions necessary for the successful building of socialism and communism. The fighting alliance of the socialist armies is part of the general economic, political, military and cultural cooperation of the fraternal states."<sup>8</sup>

Thanks to the historic advantages of socialism, the countries rallied around the Soviet Union are able not only to totalize their political, economic and military capacities, but also to raise them to a higher power, as it were, and in this way to insure the security of each individual state and of socialism as a whole vis-a-vis the aggressive military alliances of the imperialist powers and their followers which still have at their disposal a large share of the earth's resources and an enormous industrial and military potential. Since our internationalist community is led by battle-tried communist and workers' parties, our armed forces are uniformly trained--on the basis of the scientific world view of Marxism-Leninism and of the coordinated conceptions and objectives of the allied states in regard to foreign and military policy--to repel imperialist attacks in all types of modern warfare.

Due to the military and economic integration, our coalition is in a position to insure--on the basis of Soviet technology or Soviet licenses--extensive uniformity in regard to provision of the forces with key weapons systems and equipment. Thus all of our armored troops are equipped with Soviet tanks of the T-54/55 and T-62 series, and in the coming years, they will be supplied with the new T-72, whereas the NATO troops are equipped--aside from various American tank models--with West German, British and French tanks.

On account of its role in the global revolutionary process and in the community of socialist states, the Soviet Union is the principal force behind the military and military-economic integration within the framework of the Warsaw Pact. The Soviet Union has at its disposal the most powerful and advanced defense capacities and it uses them to lend manifold assistance to the other fraternal countries, the young nation states and the liberation movements; it protects our states with its nuclear missile shield.

Thus, in regard to the consolidation of the material basis, the development of military science, the transmission of advanced experience and the training of competent cadres of the fraternal armies, it is primarily due to our Soviet comrades in arms and in the class struggle that in the 25 years since its establishment the socialist military coalition has been able continuously to increase its fighting strength and combat readiness and that in the future, too, it will be able to meet all requirements in regard to repulsion of an imperialist attack.



Naturally, this does not mean that we should look down on our own efforts toward increasing the defensive capability of socialism. On the contrary. The new arms race round initiated by NATO can be successfully thwarted by the socialist states only if all of the states of our coalition intensify their efforts.

#### Consequences for the GDR's National Defense

In his report to the first secretaries of the kreis [GDR administrative unit] administrations, comrade Erich Honecker stated: "In view of the international development and the fierce struggle for the preservation of peace and the defeat of the aggressive imperialist plans, it is our duty to keep up our guard and to insure the military protection of socialism and the security of the state... Consequently, in regard to both ideology and personal and material-technological security, we must always be forearmed for any contingency."<sup>9</sup> These tasks concern all sectors of socialist national defense: The National People's Army and the other armed organs of our republic and also the sector of civil defense and the Society for Sport and Technology. In national defense--as in other fields--it is always primarily the people who with their political and technical knowledge and skills and through their aspirations and actions determine whether and how the tasks are accomplished.

Regardless of how much responsibility for national defense is given to a commander or director, a fighting or work collective, a party, business or state functionary, a teacher or scientist, an FDJ [Free German Youth] or GST [Society for Sport and Technology] functionary--the effect of their work for the National People's Army and the United Armed Forces, for the work of the enterprises essential to life and defense, and for the protection of the population directly depends on the extent, to which the individual in and with his or her collective is ready and able to draw concrete conclusions from the military-political situation and energetically and imaginatively to carry out his or her duties. In this respect, mental clarity is the first step. Consequently, the /political-ideological/ [words in slantlines printed in italics] work always takes priority over any organizational rules.

Similarly, in the military sector, the intensified anti-Soviet and anti-communist agitation, the unrestrained fomenting of war hysteria and fear of attack by the imperialist mass media necessitate political-ideological solidarity within each socialist state and within our alliance as a whole. The last few months have revealed the great and active political interest and also the concern with which the workers of our republic observe the military and political events in Europe and in the Near and Middle East. Our people have always realized that the attempt of the reactionary imperialist circles to start a new round in the arms race and the counter-revolutionary machinations against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan are interrelated. In discussions, many workers and soldiers noted with satisfaction that thanks to Soviet assistance the Afghan people have been

spared the fate of the workers in Chile. At the same time, this throws light on the class-oriented attitude vis-a-vis all anti-Soviet defamations by the enemy and on the close relationship of friendship and trust that links our workers and soldiers with the Soviet Union and its armed forces.

In regard to the evaluation of imperialism and its policy, our young people express equally clear and class-based views. Our young generation realizes that it is imperialism which represents the principal threat to peace and mankind and that the aggressive character of NATO's policy derives from the armament monopolies and their profit interests. In this respect, one must not overlook the fact that imperialism--and that means not only German imperialism--has at all times been incapable of assessing realistically the distribution of forces and that its inherent aggressiveness is closely linked with the propensity for political and military adventurism. This dangerous trait characterizes not only the German imperialists and militarists, who thus were bound to be defeated in the two world wars. As is demonstrated by history, this trait can be detected in numerous imperialist military adventures in the period following World War II: In Korea, in Indochina, against Cuba--to cite only a few examples.

Moreover, imperialist politicians have become increasingly candid--especially in the recent past--in admitting their readiness to take risks. Thus the security adviser of the U.S. president--that Mr Brzezinski, who at the Khyber Pass personally demonstrated military power, leveling a Chinese submachine gun at Afghanistan--stated that if their interests at the Persian Gulf were threatened, the United States could "respond" with armed forces to the Soviet Union in any part of the world. The day before, a representative of the Pentagon had boastfully announced: "We have nuclear weapons and in principle we do not rule out the possibility to use them wherever it may be required." And quite deliberately, the strategists of the United States and of NATO do not rule out the employment of nuclear weapons in Europe or the Near East; they openly threaten to do this. To deprive them of any opportunity for a military adventure, the Soviet Union and its allies--including the GDR--unswervingly adhere to their policy of detente and preservation of peace, and this is why the armies of the Warsaw Pact states have their forces maintain a high level of combat-readiness.

The defense minister of the USSR, Marshal of the Soviet Union D. F. Ustinov, gravely stated: "Those who seek military advantages and superiority and who rattle the saber should realize that they can come to harm over this. Should the NATO countries turn Western Europe--contrary to common sense and against the good will of the socialist countries--into a launching pad for American strategic weapons, they will receive a consistent and convincing response from the other side."<sup>10</sup>

Reviewing on 14 May 1980 25 years of Warsaw Pact, the members of the GDR's armed organs look back on a quarter century of joint military defense of socialism, on 25 years of a class-based and military alliance of nationally organized worker- and-peasant armies, on 25 years of loyal support by the

Soviet comrades. During and since the establishment of the National People's Army, we have been receiving extensive support from the commander in chief and the staff of the United Armed Forces.

Like the sharing of athletic and cultural experience and events and the affectionate friendships among the soldiers, the close cooperation of the staffs, formations and units among the fraternal armies, the cooperation within the duty system, the exchange of experience and the performance comparisons with the members of the Soviet Armed Forces in Germany have for years been part of the daily military routine. These steadily intensifying relations have always been of great importance in regard to the augmentation of the fighting strength of the National People's Army in all of its developmental stages.

Thus the 25th anniversary of the conclusion of the Warsaw Pact is a worthy occasion for the members of the GDR's National People's Army to express their heart-felt gratitude to the CPSU and the other Marxist-Leninist parties of the community of socialist states, to the peoples of the Soviet Union and of the other fraternal countries and also to the members of the fraternal armies, above all the commander in chief and the staff of the United Armed Forces for their energetic and friendly support. Through this gratitude, we are demonstrating our firm resolve not to spare any effort in the next phase of the struggle and to consolidate our socialist class-based and military alliance in the interest of peace and for the benefit of our nations.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. V. I. Lenin, "Reply to the Questions of the Correspondent of the American Daily NEW YORK EVENING JOURNAL," in: "Werke" [Complete Works], Vol 30, Berlin, 1961, pp 357 and 359.
2. DER KÄMPFER, No 20, 15 February 1955, p 2.
3. Ibid.
4. DER SPIEGEL, Hamburg, No 10, 3 March 1980, p 43.
5. BAYERNKURIER, Munich, 1 March 1980, p 23.
6. "Declaration of the Warsaw Pact States, Adopted by the Political Advisory Committee of the Warsaw Pact States of the Moscow Conference," in: "Die Organisation des Warschauer Vertrages" [The Warsaw Pact Organization], Berlin, 1975, p 43.
7. V. I. Lenin, "Report of the Joint Session of the All-Union Central Executive Committee, the Moscow Soviet, the Enterprise Committees and the Trade Unions," in: "Werke" [Complete Works], Vol 28, Berlin, 1959, p 115.

8. A. A. Grechko, "Die Streitkraefte des Sowjetstaates" [The Armed Forces of the Soviet State], Berlin, 1975, p 405.
9. Erich Honecker, "Die naechsten Aufgaben der Partei bei der weiferen Durchfuehrung der Beschluesse des IX. Parteitages der SED" [The Next Tasks of the Party in the Further Implementation of the Resolutions of the Ninth SED Congress], Berlin, 1980, p 80.
10. Dmitri Ustinov, "Military Detente--the Dictate of Our Time," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 26 October 1979, p 6.

#### War Danger Not Yet Eliminated

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 35 No 5, May 80 signed to press 7 Apr 80 pp 482-488

['25 Years of Warsaw Pact' feature article by Oskar Fischer, member, SED Central Committee; GDR minister for foreign affairs: "The Warsaw Pact in the Struggle for Detente and Disarmament"]

[Text] Twenty-five years ago, on 14 May 1955, the Agreement on Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance concluded among socialist states of Europe was signed in the capital of the People's Republic of Poland. This is the birth certificate of the Warsaw Pact organization.

Established in response to the Western powers' cold war policy, to the policy of economic and military blackmail of the socialist countries--which policy led in the first half of the 1950's to the "formation of new military groups in the form of the 'West European Union' including a remilitarized West Germany integrated into the North Atlantic Bloc, whereby the risk of a new war is increased, while the national security of the peace-loving states is threatened"<sup>1</sup>--the Warsaw Pact has turned into an alliance that is capable of successfully defending peace and socialism and the security of its participant members. This is in keeping with Lenin's realization that it is only through military defense that the achievements of the socialist revolution can be reliably protected.<sup>2</sup> Individually and collectively, the socialist states guarantee such protection.

At the same time, the development of the alliance of socialist states for the collective safeguarding of their security and for the coordination of their foreign policies reflected the significant changes in the world which had been initiated by the victory over fascism and which led to the establishment and consolidation of the socialist world system. The social and political conditions in the countries of the socialist community--the power of the working class, the socialist production relations--and Marxism-Leninism as a shared ideology created and have marked ever since the new quality of their cooperative relations. Since socialism needs peace and since only socialism can establish peace, the alliance of socialist states embodies--objectively as well as subjectively--a new relationship to peace



and to peaceful international cooperation, a relationship which already during the days of the Red October was given expression by the Decree on Peace and which has left its mark on the foreign policy of the Soviet state.

This alliance is not directed against other states or groups of states, nor is it interested in attaining military superiority. However, it cannot and will not remain inactive, if NATO, whose member states have since the establishment of this pact triggered or participated in more than 100 acts of aggression in various regions of the world, turns Western Europe into a nuclear deployment zone against the socialist community.

The Warsaw Pact states have repeatedly emphasized that they are resolutely opposed to the division of the world into antagonistic military blocs. However, they are equally outspoken in pointing out that as long as the NATO bloc exists, as long as imperialist circles accelerate the arms race, the Warsaw Pact states are compelled politically and militarily to consolidate their alliance. Generally speaking, this is a responsibility for peace, a deeply humanistic obligation toward all peace-loving people and nations of the world. At the same time, it is an obligation of proletarian internationalism vis-a-vis the international communist and workers' movement, vis-a-vis the working class as a whole. This internationalist spirit is expressed by all of the Warsaw Pact states' joint statements and declarations on acute problems of international politics--such as the long-standing U.S. aggression in Indochina, the present conditions in southern Africa or the current situation in the Near East--and it is reflected in their concerted actions.

#### The GDR--an Integral Part of the Socialist Coalition

The German Democratic Republic is one of the parent states of the Warsaw Pact organization. Its participation in this political-military alliance legally as well as in fact guarantees--as does the participation of its allies--the multilateral protection of its sovereignty and territorial integrity and of its borders. The basic conformity of the GDR's interests with the objectives of the treaty was expressly emphasized at the founding conference: "Henceforth its security is guaranteed by seven states under the direction of the most powerful state in the world, the Soviet Union. Any plot threatening the security of the German Democratic Republic will be repulsed by the entire camp of peace and democracy. The German Democratic Republic will do its utmost to make its contribution to the consolidation of the peace camp and to prevent the repetition of aggression by the German militarists."<sup>3</sup>

Since then, the solid integration in the Warsaw Pact has safeguarded and furthered the GDR's social development. At the same time, with the creation of increasingly fruitful opportunities for the establishment of most favorable external conditions for the building of socialism, the affiliation with the alliance gave rise to new, farther-reaching conditions

concerning socialist Germany's foreign policy. Thus the Ninth SED Congress resolved: "We will continue to pay due attention to the expansion of our political and defensive alliance."<sup>4</sup>

#### Coordination of Foreign Policy

The Warsaw Pact organization has proved an effective instrument for the elaboration and coordination of the fraternal states' foreign and defense policies.

This cooperation in the framework of the political-military alliance of socialist states is based on the internationalism of the working class. Socialist internationalism means mutual assistance, comradely cooperation and fraternal friendship; it means solidarity and support in the development of the new society in truly equal, free and sovereign socialist states. It has become apparent again that the consolidation and the reliable protection of the socialist development in all member states are and remain the most important tasks of the pact. In this respect, no area of inter-state cooperation is excluded. Thus Paragraph 8 of the Warsaw Pact expressly emphasizes the further development and consolidation of the economic relations among the member states.

The close cooperation of the Marxist-Leninist parties is and remains the nucleus of this alliance. The Soviet Union--the strongest force of socialism, which is led by the CPSU, the toughest and most experienced column at the head of the international workers' movement--carries the main burden in regard to the safeguarding of peace and the protection of the community of states. The socialist quality of the cooperative relations is characterized by the statement made by the secretary general of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, comrade L. I. Brezhnev, at the 25th CPSU Congress: "In the relations with the socialist countries, the CPSU unswervingly adheres to the proven rule to work in a spirit of true equality and of mutual interest in the success of the respective partner and to make decisions with a view not only to national, but also to international concerns."<sup>5</sup>

The results of the 25 years of joint struggling for stable and peaceful conditions in the international arena--not only within the Warsaw Pact organization--are impressive; indeed, they are unique--in the truest sense of the word. The Warsaw Pact states generated the crucial peace initiatives and proposals concerning a peaceful reorganization of international relations. Their work has been focusing on the struggle for European and international security, for the termination of the arms race and for disarmament. Every session of the Political Advisory Committee, every meeting of the general or first secretaries of our fraternal parties, every conference of the foreign ministers, every meeting of the Unified Secretariat, every session of the Committee of Defense Ministers and of other bodies of the Warsaw Pact organization affirmed the resolve of the participant states "to pursue a policy of peace and of peaceful, all-round cooperation among all states--whether big or small."<sup>6</sup>

This desire was corroborated through concrete proposals ranging from the urging to establish normal and neighborly relations among the European states--regardless of the military bloc they belong to--and to promise to settle disputes exclusively by peaceful means to the creation of comprehensive preconditions for assuring the security of Europe and for reducing the threat of war.

#### A Factor of International Security

Twenty-five years of Warsaw Pact--that means 25 years of successful advocacy of the policy of peaceful coexistence and detente. Thanks to the persistent struggle of the socialist countries, the peoples of Europe have been enjoying the hitherto longest period of peace in this century. As yet, however, lasting peace is not assured; the threat of war has not yet been banished.

On the contrary, the anniversary of the Warsaw Pact takes place at a time that calls for special efforts to maintain international security. Influential circles of the United States and of NATO have begun to launch large-scale and peace-threatening attacks on the results of the policy of peaceful coexistence.

This is certainly not by accident. To the imperialist circles profiting from the war preparations and rearmament, the peaceful coexistence of the peoples and states have not only always been suspect, but also contrary to their interests. However, thanks to the persistent efforts of the socialist states and of all peace-loving forces, they succeeded in putting detente on a solid basis. Consequently, it is now imperative that we extend the beneficial effect of detente to the military realm. The cooperation and coexistence of states with different social systems would then benefit from the increase in international security brought about by increased trust and, above all, by a reduction in armaments. However, this is precisely what the most reactionary forces of imperialism are opposing by any means. Incapable of understanding the signs of the time and of realistically assessing the distribution of forces, they have launched worldwide political, ideological and economic plots--involving even murder and terror--against the positions of socialism, progress and peace. Their antisocialist strategy is again increasingly focusing on the military factor. Thus, at the beginning of the 1980's, it is more evident than ever that the question of war or peace is the key problem of the present time and that sudden changes are possible.

The fierce attacks of the enemies of detente have aggravated the international situation. Their principal objective is to undo the changes in favor of peace and socialism that have taken place in the world and--as they themselves stated--to "check" the growing influence of real socialism. The results of detente and of the policy of peaceful coexistence are to be undone and replaced by imperialist power policies.

It goes without saying that the socialist states cannot remain inactive in the face of these dangerous, unpredictable activities. Comrade Erich Honecker stated that "In close cooperation with the Soviet Union and its other allies, the GDR will do whatever is necessary to insure its own security through its effort toward increasing the Warsaw Pact states' defensive capability and persistently and energetically to continue the struggle for peace and detente."<sup>7</sup>

In the struggle between the two world-political trends--the trend toward detente and disarmament, which is supported by socialism and other peace-loving forces and the trend toward rearmament and war, which is abetted by imperialism and other reactionary forces--the Warsaw Pact organization plays a decisive role. A consistent peace policy and determined repulsion of any aggression combine to form the guiding principle underlying the international work of this coalition. Thanks to the great efforts of the Warsaw Pact states and of the USSR in particular, imperialism no longer has a military advantage. The imperialist policy of economic and political blackmail of socialist countries was stripped of its foundation. In spite of rabid counterattacks by its most aggressive forces, imperialism has been increasingly compelled to accept peaceful coexistence as the foundation of international cooperation.

Even though they had been denied for decades by the United States and other NATO states, the results of World War II and the conditions that had emerged in Europe after 1945 had to be recognized under international law in the set of European agreements, in the Final Act of Helsinki. To be sure, the road to the successful conclusion of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe in the summer of 1975 was long and difficult. But the socialist states joined in the Warsaw Pact did not allow themselves to be discouraged by overt or covert resistance on the part of those imperialist circles which were opposed to the policy of detente and which through defamations and through subversive and aggressive acts against members of the socialist peace alliance tried to block the road to the "establishment of a system of reciprocal relations among the peoples and states in Europe..., in which the security of the individual state would be identical with security for all states."<sup>8</sup>

Today, close to 5 years after the ratification of the Final Act of Helsinki, it is apparent that the Warsaw Pact states' policy of peaceful coexistence has produced results that have a beneficial effect on the relations among the peoples and states. The last few weeks have shown that there is no reasonable alternative to this policy of detente, of patient reduction of the threat of war--which is bound to increase as a result of NATO's renewed rearmament programs--to the recognition of peaceful coexistence as the foundation of international cooperation. There are grounds for optimism in view of the fact that in collaboration with all peace-loving forces the real socialism created the preconditions for this at a time, when the enemies of detente still had the military advantage.



## Struggling for Arms Limitation and Disarmament

The Warsaw Pact states attach great importance to the solution of the problems concerning arms limitation and disarmament. According to Paragraph 2 of the treaty, this is the objective of the organization. Indeed: Without the joint efforts of the USSR and of the other states of the socialist community, international agreements such as those on the prohibition of nuclear tests in the atmosphere, in space and under water, on the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons, on the peaceful utilization of space, etc. would not have come about.

The socialist states are prepared further to pursue the policy of extending political detente to practical measures in the field of military detente. The Warsaw Pact states' Moscow Declaration of 23 November 1978, comrade L. I. Brezhnev's Berlin Peace Initiative of 6 October 1979 and the proposals advanced by the Budapest and Berlin sessions of the Committee of Foreign Ministers marked the course to be taken in this regard.

In the Moscow Declaration, the Warsaw Pact states resolutely opposed attempts at military blackmail and the policy aimed at intensifying the arms race. They again stated "that they themselves never sought nor intend to seek military superiority and that their military efforts always were and still are directed exclusively toward insuring their defensive capability. They proceed from the assumption that the military equilibrium in Europe and in the world must be maintained not through an increase in armaments, but through their reduction and through a determined changeover to concrete disarmament measures, especially in the field of nuclear weapons."<sup>9</sup>

In fact, an approximate military equilibrium has been existing for some time--both between the United States and the USSR and between NATO and the Warsaw Pact. This has been openly admitted by leading NATO politicians. Thus President Carter stated in November 1978 that the United States and the USSR had accepted the concept of approximate equilibrium and that presently they were approximately equal in strength. And the so-called security adviser of the U.S. president, Brzezinski, acknowledged in an interview: "Even though it has increased considerably, the military strength of the Soviet Union is insufficient...to dominate the United States..." According to Brzezinski, the United States were "more than equal" to the Soviet Union.<sup>10</sup> Likewise, the FRG Bundestag [Lower House] deputy Pawelczyk expressed the view--based on "objective analyses"--"that the distribution of forces between NATO and the Warsaw Pact is stable. That means: There is an equilibrium of possibilities and capabilities."<sup>11</sup> However, the opposite view is advanced whenever profit considerations call for it and when the nations are to be saddled with new defense expenditures for incalculable risks.

To justify its rearmament measures in Western Europe, NATO has now reinvented the concept of "supplementary armament." This approach is by no

means now. When fascist Germany in 1933 withdrew from the League of Nations and the Disarmament Conference, it justified its move on the grounds that in order to be able to disarm, it would first have to "supplement its armaments." The devastating consequences are well known.

When NATO last December adopted the missile resolution, it destroyed the foundation for negotiations on problems concerning nuclear medium-range missiles. Negotiations on these problems will be possible only if the fateful NATO resolution is invalidated or if its implementation is officially halted.

All the demagogic maneuvers intended to suggest a "threat from the East" cannot obscure the fact that the reactionary forces of NATO are bent on upsetting the present military balance and on confronting socialism from a "position of strength." Now as before, the "policy of strength" and the military blackmail of socialism have not the slightest chance of success. However, they involve--and this should be repeated here--great incalculable risks for mankind. At the establishment of the Warsaw Pact organization, the representative of the USSR Government stated: "The 'policy of strength' is...a double-edged sword. Whenever one side expands its forces, the other side is forced to follow suit. As a result, there develops what in political usage is called the arms race and what involves the serious risk of war."<sup>12</sup> This statement is as valid as ever.

One need not stress the fact that even under complex conditions such as are presently prevailing in the international arena, the Warsaw Pact states keep pursuing their peace-oriented policy. To reduce the risk of a military confrontation in Europe, they are therefore proposing an all-European political conference on problems concerning military detente and disarmament, thus making allowance for present needs and also for the fact that interest in such a forum is growing in the countries of our continent. At this conference, one could discuss measures conducive to building trust and steps aimed at reducing on the continent armaments and forces and their concentration. It would be advisable to proceed from simple matters to more complex ones, i.e. by stages, since it will be impossible right away to find a comprehensive solution to this problem. The first stage could focus on measures concerning consolidation of trust. Similar ideas have been advanced in capitalist CSCE [Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe] states as well. The Warsaw Pact states are prepared "speedily to develop a common position concerning that complex of problems that could be discussed and solved by the conference as well as the procedure for its preparation and implementation."<sup>13</sup> As far as the Warsaw Pact states are concerned, the preparatory work could be started immediately. The People's Republic of Poland proposed to make Warsaw the host city.

All the steps intended to further military detente would be all the more effective, the more closely they are linked with political and legal steps concerning reduction of the danger of war. An expedient measure toward this end would be to conclude an agreement obligating all the states

participating in the all-European conference to refrain from any offensive act of war--whether nuclear or conventional. Such an agreement, which amounts to a non-aggression pact, would contribute to the stabilization of peace in Europe.

The Warsaw Pact states are still hoping to see a favorable outcome of the Vienna talks on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe. The socialist states participating in these negotiations have repeatedly taken the initiative, in order to produce tangible results. The resolution of the Soviet Union--which, as is well known, is already being implemented--concerning unilateral reduction of the numerical strength of its armed forces and materiel in Central Europe and stipulating the withdrawal of up to 20,000 troops, 1,000 tanks and other materiel from the territory of the GDR also aims to give a fresh impetus to the Vienna talks. However, an adequate response from the Western side in Vienna is long in coming. On the contrary: The West's policies are marked by hysteria, rearmament and agitation against socialism. What is necessary, however, is the readiness of all to contribute--in accordance with the principle of equal security--to the reduction of military tension in Central Europe.

Just as the Warsaw Pact states were the pioneers and initiators of the European security conference, they remain consistent advocates of the preservation and further extension of the peaceful coexistence in Europe of states with different social systems. They have taken numerous practical measures intended to flesh out the Final Act of Helsinki. To them, Helsinki was not the last word, but a beginning and an obligation to launch new initiatives to banish for good aggression and war from the European continent and to replace confrontation by peaceful cooperation.

In collaboration with the socialist fraternal states, the GDR has actively contributed to the consolidation of this policy. In the few years since the establishment of diplomatic relations with the capitalist countries, the bilateral cooperation in the political, economic and cultural sectors and the cooperation in multilateral organizations and negotiating bodies have undergone large-scale extension. With a number of states, agreements were concluded on programs for the overall development of the relations. There are political consultations involving most of the capitalist states of Europe. The economic relations have been significantly extended. In the past 5 years, more than 135 treaties and agreements were concluded in various fields.

Similarly, the Warsaw Pact states feel that the Madrid Conference, which is to be held in November 1980, will give a fresh impetus to the implementation of the Final Act of Helsinki as an integral whole. It is along these lines that they are preparing for this conference. The socialist states will do their utmost to insure that this meeting--in contrast to that in Belgrade--takes place in an objective and productive atmosphere, for it is only under such conditions that one can expect constructive results consolidating security in Europe and conducive to mutually beneficial cooperation among the states of the European continent.

Twenty-five years of joint struggling by the Warsaw Pact states for peace, detente and European and international security demonstrate: Socialism and peace form an integral whole. The establishment and work of the Warsaw Pact conform to the objective laws governing the relations among socialist states; they are based on historically proven principles that have at all times determined the internationalist activities of the working class.

This community is characterized by unity and harmony based on Marxism-Leninism, by solidarity and fraternal support in the development of the socialist and communist society and in the anti-imperialist struggle, by a healthy interrelationship between national and international elements and by the constant readiness to protect the socialist accomplishments. The 30-year history of the GDR is living proof of this. At all stages of the struggle, the GDR has experienced solidarity; and it has itself shown solidarity--and will keep doing so--within the framework of the Warsaw Pact and in the bilateral relations with socialist fraternal states.

The Warsaw Pact organization--which was established as a political and military coalition for peace--has proved successful as a pacific alliance. It will continue to carry out its historic tasks in the struggle of the nations for peace and international security and in the defense of socialism.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. "Voelkerrecht, Dokumente," [International Law, Documents], Part 2, Berlin, 1973, p 563.
2. See V. I. Lenin, "The Eighth Congress of the Communist Party of Russia (Bolsheviks)," in : "Werke" [Complete Works], Berlin, 1961, p 193.
3. "Von der Moskauer Konferenz europaeischer Laender bis zum Warschauer Vertrag" [From the Moscow Conference of European Countries to the Warsaw Pact], Berlin, 1955, p 90.
4. "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den IX. Parteitag der SED, Berichterstatter: Genosse Erich Honecker" [Report of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany to the Ninth SED Congress, Delivered by Comrade Erich Honecker], Berlin, 1978, p 14.
5. "XXV. Parteitag der KPdSU. Rechenschaftsbericht des Zentralkomitees der Kommunistischen Partei der Sowjetunion und die naechsten Aufgaben der Partei in der Innen- und Aussenpolitik, Berichterstatter: L. I. Breschnew" [The 25th CPSU Congress. Report of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Next Tasks of the Party in Domestic and Foreign Policy. Speaker: L. I. Brezhnev], Berlin, 1976, pp 10-11.



6. "Declaration of the Warsaw Pact Member States on Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance, Adopted by the Political Advisory Committee at the Prague Conference," in: "Die Organisation des Warschauer Vertrages" [The Warsaw Pact Organization], Berlin, 1973, pp 24-25.
7. "Aus dem Bericht des Politburos an die 11. Tagung des ZK der SED, Berichterstatter: Genosse Erich Honecker" [From the Report of the Politburo to the 11th Session of SED Central Committee. Speaker: Comrade Erich Honecker], Berlin, 1979, p 15.
8. "Declaration on the Consolidation of Peace and Security in Europe, Adopted by the Political Advisory Committee of the Warsaw Pact States at the Bukarest Conference," in: "Die Organisation des Warschauer Vertrages" [The Warsaw Pact Organization], pp 97-98.
9. "Declaration of the Warsaw Pact States," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 24 November 1978, p 3.
10. THE NEW YORK TIMES MAGAZINE, 1 January 1979.
11. WELT DER ARBEIT, Cologne, 8 November 1979, p 11.
12. "Von der Moskauer Konferenz...", op cit., p 80.
13. Communiqué of the Conference of Foreign Ministers, NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 6 December 1979, p 2.

#### Alliance of Sovereign Socialist States

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['25 Years of Warsaw Pact' feature article by Dr Egon Winkelmann, economist, member, SED Central Auditing Commission; chief, International Relations Department, SED Central Committee: "A New Kind of Alliance"]

[Text] In the 25 years since the establishment of the Warsaw Pact, above all in the last 10 years, radical positive changes in regard to peace and security have taken place in the world--changes that are especially noticeable in Europe. In regard to these developments, the Warsaw Pact organization has proved an effective peace factor and a reliable instrument for the defense of the accomplishments of the socialist countries. At the Ninth SED Congress, the secretary general of the SED Central Committee, comrade Erich Honecker, emphatically pointed out that "The successful maintenance of world peace and the reduction of the danger of war in the last 30 years are attributable primarily to the military strength and the peace policy of the Soviet Union and of the Warsaw Pact organization."<sup>1</sup>

The Warsaw Pact organization's development and international activities during these 25 years testify to the fact that with its foundation there emerged a new kind of alliance that has no parallel in the history of international relations. It is primarily in regard to two aspects that it differs from other political and military coalitions of the past or present. Firstly, with the establishment of the Warsaw Pact, there emerged for the first time an alliance of sovereign socialist states based on cooperation in a spirit of equality and on fraternal mutual assistance. It originated and is continuously gaining new strength from the basic conformity of the interests and goals of the participant states--a conformity resulting from identical socioeconomic and political conditions and from the Marxist-Leninist ideology. Practical experience has repeatedly shown that such an alliance benefits the entire community as well as the individual socialist country and that it creates the conditions enabling each member state effectively to represent its own interests in the field of foreign policy. Secondly, with the Warsaw Pact, there emerged for the first time a political alliance whose activities are motivated exclusively by the desire to insure conditions--above all peaceful external conditions--favorable to the building of socialism and communism, to strengthen international security and jointly to work for the preservation of peace.

In his speech--delivered before the GDR People's Chamber--on the conference of European states on the safeguarding of peace and security in Europe, which was held from 11 to 14 May 1955 in Warsaw and which led to the establishment of the Warsaw Pact organization, comrade Otto Grotewohl stated: "The treaty is not intended to be an aggressive instrument. Rather, it is based on totally new relations among the nations and thus has no historical parallel.... The results and resolutions of the Warsaw Conference are a good and solid political foundation for an international detente that could readily insure lasting peace, once the nations want it."<sup>2</sup>

### Bastion of Peace and Security

As is well known, the Warsaw Pact organization was established in response to the growing danger of war on the European continent, which already at that time was being fomented by NATO. There is good reason again and again to recall this fact. Guided by the unrealistic, but nonetheless very dangerous conviction to be able to blackmail the socialist states through military blackmail and eventually to "roll back" socialism, the imperialist powers had rejected all of the Soviet Union's proposals concerning the establishment of a system of collective security in Europe. They ignored the Soviet Union's numerous initiatives concerning the termination of the arms race, which were corroborated by measures such as the unilateral reduction of Soviet troops in 1955. Contrary to the interests of the nations and to the security needs in Europe, the NATO states accelerated the expansion of their aggressive pact system, which had been established as early as 1949 and which in 1955 was joined by the FRG. With the conclusion of the Warsaw Pact, the signatory states took the steps necessary for protecting their socialist achievements.

A military bloc here and a military bloc there: Is there a difference? Even though the imperialist propagandists are trying--by means of the most loathsome anticommunist defamations--to misrepresent the facts, an unprejudiced observer--even in the Western world--should have no difficulty in answering this question. From the beginning, the Warsaw Pact states never left any doubt about their determination not only to do whatever would be necessary to provide military protection for their countries, but at the same time to continue the struggle for the establishment of a lasting peace. They declared their readiness "in the spirit of sincere cooperation to participate in all international activities aimed at insuring world peace and security" and "upon consultation with other states desiring such cooperation to take effective measures concerning general disarmament and the prohibition of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction" (Paragraph 2 of the Warsaw Pact).<sup>3</sup>

According to Paragraph 11 of the Warsaw Pact, the pact ceases to be operative in the event of the establishment of a system of collective security in Europe. Since then, the socialist member states have repeatedly proposed simultaneously to dissolve the Warsaw Pact organization and the NATO pact and--as a first step--to abolish their military organizations. At the November 1978 session of the Political Advisory Committee, this proposal was reintroduced.<sup>4</sup>

Actions are the most convincing proof and the most important criterion regarding the role of any alliance of states in international relations. None of the changes in favor of peace and international security, which have taken place in the past decades, especially on the European continent, would have been possible without the influence of the Warsaw Pact states and the policy of peaceful coexistence pursued by these states. It was above all the initiatives and the persistent efforts of the Warsaw Pact states that helped to enforce the principle of inviolability of national borders as a standard of intra-European relations and to establish this principle in internationally binding agreements and in documents drawn up jointly by socialist and capitalist states. It was only due to the persistent efforts of the socialist states--supported by large democratic forces in the West European countries--that the Helsinki Conference was brought off and that important progress was made in regard to the policy of detente, which is of obvious benefit for all participant states and all nations. The states of the socialist community have introduced constructive proposals--proposals in accordance with the requirements of our time--in regard to all of the basic problems, the solution of which is of crucial importance for reducing the danger of war and insuring a peaceful life for the nations. The most important of these proposals are the arms limitation and disarmament program outlined in the Moscow Declaration of November 1978 and the peace initiative announced by comrade L. I. Brezhnev in Berlin in October 1979.

These facts are well known and speak for themselves. They demonstrate that the Warsaw Pact states have always been guided by

objectives they proclaimed 25 years ago, objectives that are not dictated by selfish interests, by a narrow "bloc mentality", but that correspond to the vital interests of all nations. However, the last 25 years show equally clearly that the aggressive character of the imperialist NATO pact and its role as operational center of the forces opposed to peace and progress have not changed. The latest NATO resolutions, which are intended to accelerate the rearmament spiral--above all the long-term rearmament program of May 1978 and the Brussels Missile Resolution of December 1979--are convincing proof of this.

Thus military blocs are not all alike. The basic differences between them result from the contrast between their sociopolitical systems, on which they are based and which they serve, and from their antagonistic positions and functions in the class struggle of our time. Thus the military coalition of socialist states is an instrument of peace, whereas the military pacts of imperialism--and NATO in particular--are tools of aggression and expansion.

#### Socialist Internationalism--the Distinguishing Characteristic of the Fraternal Alliance

In the course of its history, the fraternal alliance of socialist states, which is embodied in the Warsaw Pact, passed all the tests of the international class struggle. In many different international situations, it has proved a reliable, indispensable bulwark against any kind of counter-revolutionary plot of imperialist reaction, an important factor furthering the development of each socialist country and, at the same time, promoting close relations among the member states and the consolidation of their ties of friendship. As the socialist countries grew stronger, the influence of their alliance on the overall structure of international relations has been increasing.

Thus the development of the novel cooperative relations among the socialist states corroborates Marx's observation that it is the mission of the victorious working class "to make the simple laws concerning morals and justice, which are to regulate the relations among private persons, the supreme laws in regard to international relations."<sup>5</sup> Respect for territorial integrity, equal rights, noninterference in internal affairs, respect for a nation's sovereignty, independence and right to self-determination--it was the bourgeoisie that once--during its rise--proclaimed these ideals. However, capitalism has proved incapable of implementing them. Moreover: In practice, the international relations of this last system of exploitation have always been--especially since its transition to the imperialist stage--diametrically opposed to the noble principles loudly proclaimed. At the present time in particular, we see very clearly how imperialism tries by all the means at its disposal to suppress such generally democratic relations. This goes not only for its attempts to prevent the young, nationally liberated states from freely determining their future course and to keep them shackled through diverse forms of dependence on the imperialist



powers. Likewise, it is certainly not by accident that with its present changeover to a policy of confrontation vis-a-vis the socialist states, the U.S. administration has been putting more and more pressure on the NATO "partners" to force them to adopt a policy diametrically opposed to their own interests, not to mention the interests of the nations. It was only with the emergence of real socialism--with the development of its overall strength and international role, with the consolidation of its alliance with all the forces fighting for total national independence, justice, international security and peace--that it became possible gradually to advance on the road toward democratic international laws, toward embodiment of the generally democratic principles in current international law, toward the binding recognition of these principles as standards of international relations.

It is in the relations among the socialist fraternal states that the aforementioned democratic principles are comprehensively and consistently realized. While this is important in itself, it is merely one aspect of the novel relations that characterize the alliance of socialist states. Comradely, comprehensive cooperation and mutual assistance in the spirit of socialist internationalism are the distinguishing characteristics of these relations. This cooperation has proved a reliable source of strength of the alliance of socialist states. It is only through this cooperation that the fraternal alliance becomes more than just the sum of individual states, that it becomes a qualitatively new force in the development of the advantages of the socialist social system.

Naturally, the development of such an alliance is not a single, non-recurring act; rather, it is an historical process that involves the overcoming of diverse obstacles and problems and that passes through a number of stages. The victory of the working class in various countries does not at one blow eliminate all the obstacles ensuing from the capitalist past, which impede the neighborly coexistence of the nations. Moreover, the individual countries begin the development of socialism at different times and from different starting positions. There are differences between the individual socialist countries in regard to the historical traditions and the geographic location. All this is bound to affect the cooperation and the national interests of the individual socialist states. Thus, just as the building of socialism as a systematic historical process calls for conscious action and purposeful political leadership, new relations among the socialist countries do not develop automatically.

#### Comprehensive Cooperation Among the Marxist-Leninist Parties

In this field, too, the development is largely determined by the policy of the ruling Marxist-Leninist parties. Again and again, their close cooperation proves to be the crucial inspiring and organizing factor of the socialist fraternal alliance. This cooperation is characterized by a spirit of truly internationalist solidarity, by mutual trust and understanding. Increasingly, it enables the states meaningfully to combine

national and international elements and--on the basis of common basic interests and objectives--to agree on solutions for emerging common problems, solutions that meet the objective requirements of socialism and of the international class struggle.

Over the years, a comprehensive mechanism of cooperation among the communist and workers' parties has been developing within the framework of the socialist community. Bilateral and multilateral meetings of their leading representatives, which serve above all the discussion of basic strategic problems, have by now become the rule. Based on the fundamental regulations agreed upon at these meetings, the close network of party relations now comprises all levels and realms. At the same time, however, the demands regarding the leadership and cooperation of all communist parties have been raised considerably.

The development of the cooperative relations among the socialist states is greatly influenced by the fact that with the onset of the 1970's, the socialist community has entered a new stage of its development. As other socialist countries are beginning to develop the advanced socialist society, which in the Soviet Union has already come into being, the characteristics shared by all are becoming more clearly defined in all realms of social life and the internationalist nature of the socialist social system is becoming more apparent. As a result, the range of possibilities is being extended, but at the same time, there are arising new requirements in regard to the development of the cooperative relations among the fraternal states. On the basis of the economic interconnection that is developing along with the socioeconomic integration, the trend toward assimilation of the socialist countries is intensifying. Increasingly, their cooperation in all fields is turning into an endeavor, in which millions of workers are actively and directly participating. At the same time, this process is consolidating the foundation of the coordinated activities of the socialist states in the international arena.

Under the present conditions, the role of the Soviet Union as the decisive force and stable nucleus of the community of socialist states is more apparent than ever. From the outset, the development of a new type of international relations took place above all in the form of an association of the socialist states under the direction of the Soviet Union, which was the first country to move toward the socialist future and which through the defeat of fascism created the basic conditions necessary for the transition of other countries to the development of socialism and, in this process, lent them support and protection. On account of its thoroughly internationalist policy and its vast experience, the Soviet Union made an invaluable contribution to the development of the community of socialist states. Now that the Soviet Union has established the material-technological foundation required and is taking important steps toward the transition to communism; now that its political, economic, scientific-technological and, last but not least, military potential has shown unprecedented growth, its role in the world as the principal force of socialism and peace is even more decisive.

To keep strengthening the fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union, with the CPSU and to integrate the German Democratic Republic in the community of socialist states has always been the SED's principal class-oriented responsibility, its primary objective in its internationalist activities. In accordance with the resolutions adopted at the Ninth Party Congress, the SED is helping further to develop the new relations among the socialist states and to open up the tremendous reserves that socialism in its capacity as an international system has at its disposal. The German Democratic Republic continues to implement this policy, which is devoted to the well-being of all peace-loving nations. Erich Honecker was fully justified in saying: "Our firm integration in the Warsaw Pact alliance, the 25th anniversary of which we will be celebrating in May, allows us resolutely to further the process of detente and to work toward concrete disarmament measures. Consistent advocacy of the preservation of peace, of the termination of the arms race and of disarmament is an integral part of our policy. The mandate to this effect was confirmed by the over 13.1 million GDR citizens, who with their signatures supported the Berlin peace initiative advanced by comrade Brezhnev. Our people want peace; peace is the most important principle, the most important objective of our socialist foreign policy."<sup>6</sup>

#### FOOTNOTES

1. "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den IX. Parteitag der SED, Berichterstatter: Genosse Erich Honecker" [Report of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany to the Ninth SED Congress, Delivered by Comrade Erich Honecker], Berlin, 1976, p 14.
2. "Von der Warschauer Konferenz europaeischer Laender bis zum Warschauer Vertrag" [From the Warsaw Conference of European Countries to the Warsaw Pact], Berlin, 1955, p 112.
3. "Voelkerrecht, Dokumente" [International Law, Documents], Part 2, Berlin, 1973, p 564.
4. See NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 24 November 1978, p 3.
5. Karl Marx, "Inaugural Address of the International Workers' Association," in: Marx/Engels, "Werke" [Complete Works], Vol 16, Berlin, 1962, p 13.
6. Erich Honecker, "Die naechsten Aufgaben der Partei bei der weiteren Durchfuehrung der Beschluesse des IX. Parteitages der SED" [The Next Tasks of the Party in the Further Implementation of the Resolutions of the Ninth SED Congress], Berlin, 1980, p 14.

TRADE UNIONS TO HELP WITH WORKERS' IDEOLOGICAL INDOCTRINATION

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[Article by Prof Dr Johanna Toepfer, economist, member, SED Central Committee; deputy chairman, National Executive Committee, Free German Trade Union Federation (FDGB): "Activists of the First Hour and Those of Our Time"]

[Text] From the beginnings of our socialist state up to the present, the activists' movement has been reflecting the motive power of the working class. What were the factors underlying the development of the conditions and goals that have been supporting the elan of the activists and innovators? What are the crucial problems of our social development that the activists of our time are confronted with? How can we make effective use of the many ingenious ideas generated by our workers, of their creative accomplishments for the crucial concern of socialism--to do everything possible for the well-being of the people?

In our republic, the year 1980 began with a great mass initiative undertaken by the workers in preparation for the 10th SED Congress. The initiative aims further to increase the GDR's productive capacities; it was launched by the 11th session of the SED Central Committee in December 1979. Proceeding from an analysis of the current international situation and of the development in the GDR, the session drew its conclusions and defined the problems to be tackled and solved at the beginning of the 1980's. Following the example of the Buna [synthetic rubber] workers, many combine and enterprise collectives pledged--in honor of the 35th anniversary of the liberation from fascism by the glorious Soviet army--by May to fulfill an additional daily production quota and to extend this lead by the end of the year to two daily quotas so as to properly get ready for the 10th SED Congress.

From a meeting, which took place in March of this year and which was devoted to an exchange of experience between the SED Central Committee and



the Central Committee party organizers and general directors of industrial and construction combines, the participants sent a letter to the secretary general of the SED Central Committee, comrade Erich Honecker, in which they made known the resolve of the 2.4 million workers of 129 combines to exceed the 1980 production targets by M 2 billion worth of industrial goods, for the most part by means of material economies. These outstanding pledges, toward the fulfillment of which great efforts are being made everywhere, are worthy of our workers' great tradition in the activists' and competition movement.

The development of the activists' and competition movement from its beginnings up to the present clearly reflects the historical calling and growing competence of the working class as the leading social force in socialism. The liberation from fascism by the Soviet army 35 years ago gave the German working class a new starting position in its struggle for socialism. The political power of the working class, its alliance with the other working classes and strata and the socialist ownership of the means of production were the secure foundation for the development in the GDR of the mass initiative of the workers liberated from exploitation.

We will never forget the assistance that the Soviet comrades in the class struggle have been lending from the very beginning for the development of our activists' and competition movement. The visits of well-known Soviet pacemakers and innovators such as Pavel Bykov to GDR enterprises and the study trips of our activists to the USSR provided much information and represented high spots in the fruitful mutual relations. At present, many enterprise collectives maintain close contacts with collectives in the Soviet Union; the exchange of experience concerning the most effective work procedures is an integral part of the German-Soviet friendship.

The workers' voluntary, conscious mass initiative is one of the most important assets of our socialist social system, for it represents an inexhaustible source of wealth and personality development. Thus it is one of the primary objectives of the party of the working class to insure that in every phase and at every historical stage the activists' and competition movement meets the requirements and tasks of our development.

At every stage, the internal development and the external conditions gave rise to complex, exacting tasks. One should recall in this connection the efforts made in the summer of 1945 in regard to the re-establishment of the supply network, the transport sector and the production of essential commodities. Regardless of seemingly insuperable difficulties, the workers--going without sufficient food and frequently without any wages--salvaged machines from the ruins, repaired industrial plants and began to produce.

In 1948, the activists' and competition movement--guided by the SED and supported by the trade unions--made significant progress. The material and technical preconditions were more than modest and socialist consciousness

had not developed past the rudimentary stage; however, more and more workers began to realize the elementary fact that to be able to raise the standard of living, one must first increase production. In this development, the exemplary work performance of Adolf Hennecke, a miner, inspired the class-conscious workers to greater achievements and it met with response on the part of the FDJ's [Free German Youth] Young Activists' Movement. Closely bound up with his name, the activists' and competition movement embodied already at that time the revolutionary creativity of the working class, which upon assuming political power tackled the second, still more complex part of its historic mission. According to Lenin, the objective here is "to lead the entire mass of the workers...toward economic reconstruction, toward the establishment of new social ties, of a new work discipline and of a new work organization that combines the latest findings of science and...technology with the mass association of consciously working individuals...."

The concrete social conditions in the GDR confirm: As the socialist competition grows stronger and more productive, our socialist social system is consolidated. And conversely: As the GDR grows stronger, the objective and subjective preconditions for the workers' mass initiative improve. A good illustration of this interrelationship is the policy of main emphasis, which was adopted by the Eighth Party Congress. Under a central competition motto--"A greater effect from every mark, every hour of working time and every gram of material"--the socialist competition has undergone vigorous development, which is reflected in its high quality, broad range and great variety. The policy of the party, which was adopted by the Eighth Party Congress and which has been successfully continued after the Ninth Party Congress, has provided strong impulses for new great achievements of the workers in the socialist competition. For more emphatically than ever, the policy of the party has been focusing on the crucial concern of socialism: To do everything possible for the well-being of the working class, for the happiness of the people.

The initiative shown by millions of workers--most pronounced at the 30th anniversary of the GDR--is proof of the confidence the masses place in the policy pursued by the SED. It testifies to the willingness and resolve of the workers fully to support this policy, for this policy means peace, social security and safety. More and more emphatically, the workers and work collectives are giving expression to these political motives of their great will to produce. At the same time, they are demonstrating thereby their understanding concerning the increased demands on the competition movements, which result from the fact that the starting positions and conditions regarding dynamic economic growth are markedly different from those at the beginning of the 1970's.

This is clearly reflected in the competition programs adopted for 1980 by the combines and enterprises and in the determination, with which the workers are steadily fulfilling their pledges. The militant attitude expressed here is in keeping with the requirements of the 1980's, which--

as was pointed out by the secretary general of the SED Central Committee, comrade Erich Honecker--are of great significance for the future of mankind. The struggle for peace and socialism, for the social and national liberation of all peoples rests on the work performance of the workers in the socialist countries. Likewise, the thrust of the GDR's peace policy derives from the productive capacity of our country. Politics and economics form an integral whole.

The Party is presently focusing its attention on the chain link that is of crucial importance for the further development--namely, to insure marked increases in economic efficiency, to combine still more effectively the advantages of our socialist society with the scientific-technological revolution. Thus it is the economic results that must serve as the criterion regarding the quality and effectiveness of the competition--results measured against the qualitative plan targets, for the fulfillment of which the combination of the innovator movement with the latest scientific-technological findings and the most advanced technological processes is of crucial importance. Plan targets and competition goals are closely related. A competition result can be regarded as satisfactory only if it meets the requirements concerning plan-related effectiveness.

The diversity of competition in the work collectives notwithstanding, there remains the overall objective to implement the plan targets for 1980 through sharp increases in labor productivity based on the latest scientific-technological findings and the necessary efficiency measures--by investing less working time, materials, energy and funds than planned and attaining a higher level of product quality. An initiative exemplary in this respect was launched by the collective of the Karl-Marx-Stadt "Fritz Heckert" Machine Tool Combine. In this collective, approximately 95 percent of the productivity increases in 1980 have been attained on the basis of scientific and technological measures. For the most part, these measures consist in the development of advanced products and their rapid introduction into the production process. In the competition programs, the pledges are oriented directly toward these objectives. The pledges include time savings of 3 months as compared to the plan target for the assembly of the second series of a new generation of machine tools. Other competition goals are concerned with productivity increases: It is intended to exceed the plan targets for industrial output and to turn out two additional daily quotas of the distributable final product in the amount of M 14 million. In the interest of additional material economies, the participants in the competition in the parent plant of the combine pledged to reduce the planned M 3.2 million reduction in material costs by another 6 percent. In all newly developed products, the specific material input is reduced by an average of 40 percent. With an energy input volume equaling that of 1979, the workers will this year attain a 12.3-percent increase in industrial output. For all newly developed products, the goal is to increase energy efficiency by an average of 20 percent. Steps have been taken to insure that all key products of the parent enterprise bear the "Q" quality seal; consequently, 91.5 percent of the industrial production subject to classification will carry this quality seal.

in the "Fritz Heckert" Machine Tool Combine--as in all model combines and enterprises--good results in regard to the fulfillment and overfulfillment of the plan targets are produced primarily, because the workers are allowed actively and extensively to participate in management and because mass initiative is systematically and effectively encouraged. From this, we should learn and we should create in all combines and enterprises the atmosphere, conditions and preconditions enabling the collectives to fulfill and overfulfill their competition programs. In this respect, all of the party, trade union and economic functionaries, especially those in the combines and enterprises, bear great responsibility.

To insure total fulfillment and systematic overfulfillment of the economic plan targets for 1980, the socialist competition must be well managed and organized in all enterprises and work collectives. This applies to the efficient combines, but it also goes for medium-size and small enterprises. However valuable and indispensable they may be, good examples alone are not sufficient for accomplishing the great tasks. It is always the mass effect--the many millions who emulate the best workers--that is of crucial importance in socialist competition. It will be necessary everywhere to arouse the vital interest of every worker of every work collective in the improvement of their own work and to make full use of this motivation in the struggle for a high level of efficiency and work quality. We need objective initiatives generated by the masses, initiatives that are apt to arouse and inspire millions of people. The management of competition, the introduction of new, progressive elements is a vital matter intolerant of stagnation, conservatism and routine. It is always bound up with the struggle for new forms and methods of work, technology and work organization.

This task calls for persistence, unselfishness and courage. A maximum of objectivity, concreteness and efficiency--these Leninist requirements concerning the work in the economic sector fully apply to the political work with the masses, to the management of the socialist competition. Wherever the plan and the competition are in agreement, where the plan is broken down by sector, collective and work place, continuous control of the competition results is assured. Wherever such conditions prevail, it is possible to develop competition, mutual assistance and comradely cooperation. Socialist competition must not be conducted in an abstract and soulless fashion. Each participant must know his daily quota, if he or she is to fulfill the plan on a daily basis. Each individual must be able to determine--every day, every 10-day period and every month--where he or she stands in regard to plan fulfillment. Each individual must be clearly told the targets in regard to quality levels and material, energy and time economy. It is necessary to establish a work environment and working conditions in which each worker can make full use of the working time on account of the high level of production organization and in which the worker also wants to make full use of the time on account of the fact that the worker's honor is highly respected in the collective.



The demands concerning the management and organization of socialist competition are being raised continuously. Again and again it is necessary critically to review the results produced in the light of the objective requirements and of the new conditions. It is not the number of newly developed or adopted methods that is the criterion of socialist competition, but the increase in efficiency achieved in the fulfillment of the plan. The large number of initiatives in the competition necessitates meaningful generalization in keeping with the concrete conditions. We must ascertain the areas, in which proven initiatives should be further developed in accordance with the new requirements, for not every method can be applied anywhere. A schematic approach and uncritical adoption could even give rise to formalism in the competition and eventually impair its results.

There is no doubt that under conditions of good political and technical management in the enterprises, the innovator movement could make an even greater contribution to the development of science and technology. However, the number of participants alone is insufficient proof of good innovator work. At least equally important is the result, the orientation of the innovators toward the targets of the science and technology plan, and a high level of organization in regard to the cooperation among the innovators, scientists and technicians. Comrade Erich Honecker stated: "At present, the dissemination of the most valuable results is of special significance. For in the preparation for the 10th Party Congress, the best results of today are to become the social norm."<sup>2</sup> It is precisely in this regard that mistakes are still being made. We should try to find out if one should not first eliminate ideological causes, for in many instances organizational shortcomings are of secondary importance. First of all, one must ask: Is really everyone prepared disinterestedly to admit that his or her neighbor is in the lead, that the fellow worker is using the better method, that he or she has found a more efficient solution? This applies not only to two adjoining work places or collectives. It also applies to conditions beyond the individual enterprise, beyond the kreis and bezirk (GDR administrative units) boundaries.

It would be misguided ambition to insist on one's authorship in regard to a new initiative, if one's neighbor is already successfully implementing it. After all, it is one of the advantages of our socialist society that among our producers there is no hostility caused by competition or profit-seeking, but that they derive mutual benefit from exchanging the best results. This is in keeping with the basic interests of the working class. In socialism, it is not the individual worker or the collectives that own advanced methods and results; rather, these methods are the property and represent the wealth of society as a whole. On the basis of the experience gained in social practice and of careful analysis of the local conditions, state managers have to give direct orders as to which advanced work procedures--the merit of which has been established--must be introduced. The decision as to whether or not outstanding results, initiatives and methods of competition are to become common knowledge must no longer be left to the discretion of the individual.

There are still instances in which criticism, proposals and suggestions by the workers are ignored. The responsible handling of suggestions made by workers is one of the obligations in connection with the task to safeguard and enhance the role of the working class as the principal political and social force of social progress and actively to help to increase its influence on all sectors of social life. Consequently, we must increase our efforts to develop the workers' creativity and sense of social responsibility and to support their striving for education and cultural development. Thus one can create everywhere social conditions conducive to work and initiative--conditions distinguished by community spirit. Furthermore, intelligible and convincing explanation of the political and economic objectives of the competition in the work collectives and a high level of work organization, order, safety and discipline are likewise part of such an atmosphere. In addition, it is the special responsibility of the trade unions to insure strict observance of the legal regulations concerning the duties of the directors in regard to the handling of innovator proposals.

A high qualitative level of management is an integral part of a creative atmosphere. In this regard, the principal objective is to insure good technical preparation of the production process in accordance with scientific-technological findings. Efficient organization of the production process, operational continuity, full utilization of working time, reduction of down time--these are some of the factors that positively influence the social atmosphere in a work collective and that must therefore be consistently enforced.

We must also continue to pay close attention to the problems concerning the working and living conditions--problems that are an integral part of the policy aimed at promoting the well-being of the people. It is especially during the rationalization procedures, during the introduction of new, highly efficient technological processes or the modification of production structures that one must be mindful of the working and living conditions. The trade unions must see to it that the workers participate from the very beginning in all these measures and that the social as well as the economic consequences are always taken into consideration. All suggestions submitted by workers, which are concerned with improving the working and living conditions in the enterprise, must be attentively weighed and--without exception--conscientiously answered. All of the suggestions that are practicable should be subject to public review and accounting. It is the responsibility of every manager to concern himself with the proper care of the workers, especially the shift workers, and with good working conditions.

The concerns and problems of the workers and of all working people should always be dealt with in a sensitive manner. This, too, is political work involving the masses--and it is not the most unimportant work.

All this illustrates our party members' growing responsibility for the political-ideological work. At the same time, it is indicative of the

growing responsibility of all directors and trade union leaders in the enterprises. We must promote the political-ideological work so as to tap the energies of the working class and of the entire population for the implementation of the economic plan for 1980. In this regard, it is the task of the trade unions in particular to acquaint the millions of non-party trade union members with the policy and the program of the Party, continuously to intensify the trustful relations between the Party and the workers and to stimulate and promote the ideas and initiatives of the masses for the implementation of the resolutions adopted by the Party.

Conscientious work for the fulfillment and overfulfillment of the economic plan--in our socialist society, this is presently the direct and concrete contribution of each worker to the revolutionary struggle for peace and socialism. Just as the veteran activists, the initiators and pacemakers, the innovators and efficiency experts were always forced--in the course of the decades since the liberation from fascism--to wage their struggle for improved labor productivity, quality and efficiency in the face of the difficulties of their time, the activists of our time, the participants in the socialist competition of 1980 have to overcome a great many obstacles.

However, there is no doubt that with the support of the revolutionary power of the working class, with the aid of the creativity of the masses, the economic problems involved in socialist construction can be solved--even under complex external conditions. While the tasks and requirements have increased and grown more complex, the working class and the working people confronted with these tasks are in comparison with those of former times politically more aware and professionally more advanced; they have at their disposal better scientific and technological tools and they work under better conditions.

Our success did not come easy. We always had to work for it and this also goes for today and all the more so for tomorrow. There will never be a situation that does not require further improvements in performance. It is primarily our own objectives for the benefit of the people and the growing needs of the workers that necessitate increased labor productivity. The fact that we are able persistently to pursue these goals, even though the GDR has to accommodate itself to the heavy strain resulting from the rise in the prices of raw materials and fuel on the world markets, testifies to the strength of socialism and to the creativity of the working class and of all working people. In 1980, their work performance achieved in millions of tasks in the socialist competition will be a fitting contribution to the preparations for the 10th SED Congress.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. V. I. Lenin, "The Great Initiative," in: "Werke" [Complete Works], Berlin, 1961, pp 412-413.
2. Erich Honecker, "Die naechsten Aufgaben der Partei bei der weiteren Durchfuehrung der Beschluesse des IX. Parteitages der SED" [The Next Tasks of the Party in the Further Implementation of the Resolutions Adopted at the Ninth SED Congress], Berlin, 1980, p 52.

PROGRESS OF CONTINUING CLASS-STRATA RAPPROCHEMENT REVIEWED

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[Article by Prof Dr Wolfgang Schneider, dean (prorektor), director, study program on Marxist-Leninist doctrine of party and party structure; head, Scientific Communism Department, Karl Marx Party College, SED Central Committee; chairman, Scientific Council for Basic Questions on the Leadership Role of the Workers Class and Its Marxist-Leninist Party; member, EINHEIT editorial board: "Workers Class and Rapprochement Between Classes and Strata." For translations of other articles on various aspects of the class-strata rapprochement see the following JPRS issues of this series: On the role of state organs--72054, 16 Oct 78, No 1597, pp 61-71; worker-intellectual differences--67887, 9 Sep 76, No 1290, pp 19-35; 'worker of new type'--68586, 7 Feb 77, pp 12-23; progress, general development--68242, 19 Nov 76, No 1321, pp 13-24; 68886, 6 Apr 77, No 1375, pp 94-102; and 68993, 25 Apr 77, pp 20-24; book reviews--75239, 3 Mar 80, No 1769, pp 72-76]

[Text] What are the key factors influencing the process of rapprochement between the classes and strata of our society? How does the working class perform its leadership function in this process? What are the trends in the further development of social traits shared by the classes and strata?

With the further development of the advanced socialist society in the GDR, the revolutionary process--initiated 35 years ago--of radical reorganization of the social living conditions of our people is being successfully continued. Thanks to the purposeful leadership of our Marxist-Leninist party, the working class and its allies--engaged in a continuous struggle with the imperialist enemies--was able through its own free and creative efforts consistently to make use of the historic opportunity offered by the victory of the glorious Soviet army over fascism. One marvels at the radical, pervasive changes that have occurred in the life of our people in these 35 years! On the basis of socialist power and property relations and of the socialist consciousness of the workers, there has emerged a totally new type of social relations. Mutual assistance and comradely collaboration



determine the cooperation between the working class, the class of the cooperative farmers, the intelligentsia and the other working people. This is characteristic of the socialist work process and it increasingly applies to all realms of life.

As is shown by our revolutionary practice, the establishment and consolidation of the political power of the working class was the crucial precondition for these fundamental changes in the class structure. Led by the Marxist-Leninist party, the working class consolidated its political control, established the socialist state of workers and farmers as a variant of the dictatorship of the proletariat and--by abolishing private ownership of the key means of production--liberated man from exploitation and subjugation. Thus it laid the political foundation for the development and continuous improvement of the new, socialist class structure.

In establishing its political rule and assuming control--under the direction of its revolutionary vanguard--over the social development and the national economy, the working class fundamentally changed its class position and also established the economic basis of its political power. In a complex, protracted and continuing process, the position and role of the working classes and strata in the production sector and in society underwent radical changes based on the socialist production relations, and there began the continuing development of new, socialist relations between the ruling working class and its allies. The process of rapprochement between the classes and strata in our republic, the substance and direction of which is determined by the world view and the ideals of the working class, is a concentrated manifestation of the historic superiority of socialism. This process demonstrates: In the work of the people liberated from exploitation and subjugation, the creative forces and faculties of all classes and strata of the nation combine for their own benefit and for the benefit of society as a whole. Thus the rapprochement of the classes and strata is the social manifestation of the developing "association, in which the free development of each member is prerequisite to the free development of all."<sup>1</sup> One of the most significant results of the socialist revolution in our country, this rapprochement is at the same time a strong driving force in the further development of the advanced socialist society.

However, the rapprochement of the classes and strata is not simply the sum of their economic and intellectual-cultural capacities. On the basis of the intensifying social division of labor, of the continuing nationalization of production and work, the development of each class or stratum becomes the prerequisite for the development of the others and thus for the development of society as a whole. In this sense, the rapprochement between the classes and strata is a process involving mutual give-and-take. As regards its political nature, this process is characterized by the allies' drawing closer to the working class. "In fully exercising its leadership function, the working class helps all other classes and strata more and more consciously to take their place in the socialist society and enables them to make their own contribution to socialism. In the process

of developing the productive forces, of improving the socialist production relations and of consolidating the cooperative relations under the direction of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party, the political-moral unity of the people is consolidated. In this protracted process, the classes and strata gradually assimilate on the basis of the ideals and scientific world view of the working class."<sup>2</sup>

On account of the SED's policy of alliance, the basic interests shared by the working classes and strata are assuming crucial importance for the consistent continuation of the policy of full employment, national affluence, growth and stability, which was adopted by both the Eighth and the Ninth Party Congress. The pace of our further successful advance and the extent of our progress largely depend on the stability of the political organization of socialism and on the development of the trustful relationship between the Party and the people. Irrespective of world view or religion, all strata and citizens of our nation are making a growing, indispensable and independent contribution to the security and further development of their homeland. It is not least in this fact that the SED's successful efforts, the purpose of its work are reflected. And one of the lasting historic achievements of the Party is the fact that it was able--thanks to its purposeful, prudent leadership--not only to maintain the alliance from the time of the antifascist-democratic upheaval up to the present further development of the advanced socialist society, but also continuously to deepen and consolidate it. It was not least owing to this accomplishment that we succeeded in carrying out the antifascist-democratic upheaval and the socialist revolution in an integrated revolutionary process. Comrade Erich Honecker stated: "It speaks for the scientific policy pursued by our Party that we were able at all stages of our construction effort, in all struggles and tests to maintain and continuously to deepen and enrich this alliance."<sup>3</sup>

Due to the strength of the SED-led, successful alliance of the working class with the cooperative farmers' class, the socialist intelligentsia and the other working people and due to the trustful political cooperation with friendly parties, all of the class enemy's attacks on the GDR, on the socialist revolution in our country were repulsed. Thanks to the steadfastness of the policy of our Party, it was possible more fully to activate the objective foundations--embodied in the socialist production relations--for the rapprochement among the classes and strata and for the development of their common traits. It is precisely in this process that the specific traits of the individual classes and strata are developed more and more productively for the benefit of society as a whole; the process of further rapprochement among the classes and strata is accomplished through the full utilization of the specific performance and development capacities at the disposal of the working class, the cooperative farmers' class, the intelligentsia and the other working people. This is an important aspect in regard to the consolidation of our society's objective socioeconomic and material-technological foundations and of the traits shared by the classes and strata of our country.

The active participation of the workers in management and planning, in the improvement of socialist democracy is of crucial importance for this process of further rapprochement among the classes and strata and for their continuous advancement. As the workers under the guidance of the Marxist-Leninist party participate more extensively--and at a higher level of professional expertise--in the management of social development, the working class increases its influence on all sectors of society. In developing socialist democracy, the working class develops itself. At the same time, the interrelationship between the improvement of socialist democracy and the social rapprochement among the classes and strata intensifies. For in large measure, the working class demonstrates its leadership qualities by helping all working people to develop their creative faculties and consciously to participate in the development of the advanced socialist society. The democratic participation in the management of state and society helps to cultivate in all working people traits such as creativity, collectivism, initiative and a sense of social responsibility. Thus the improvement of socialist democracy is a precondition and a manifestation of the process of rapprochement among the classes and strata in socialism.

Of equal importance for this process, especially for the further quantitative and above all qualitative development of the working class, is the fact that science is becoming an integral part of the production process, that objectified science, the mechanization of logical and control functions are gradually "replacing" certain functions of the producers, thus making it possible markedly to reduce the share of living labor. As Karl Marx pointed out in "Kapital" (Chapter 13), the development of machines, the means of work, is predicated on applied science. But applied science is objectified in machinery not only materially; it is also an operational procedure for making this machinery function. Both aspects change the work content and set new standards for the workers' labor. It is in this area that one finds the material foundation for further reductions in the essential differences between manual and intellectual labor.

According to Karl Marx, this process--the disposability of the workers, the necessity of polytechnical training and thus the elimination of the old division of labor--is derived from the requirements of big industry. His analysis led him to the realization that the "variety of work projects and thus the maximum versatility of the workers should be recognized as a general law of social production" and that the conditions should be "adjusted to its normal implementation."<sup>4</sup> Under conditions characterized by the prevalence of socialist production relations, it becomes apparent that this demand can and will be systematically implemented and that the reduction of the most important differences between physical and intellectual labor is not an ideal, which is grafted onto socialism and implemented at will, but that it springs from the material life process of the socialist society.

In this connection, the fact that the share of gainfully employed individuals having no or only partial vocational training decreased from 59.8 percent in 1961 to 22.7 percent in 1978 is of truly historic importance and at the same time a significant indication of the developmental stage of the social rapprochement among the classes and strata of our republic. During the same period, the share of masters and skilled laborers of the total number of workers in the GDR increased from 34.1 to 59.5 percent. While in 1963 the share of fully trained agricultural workers amounted to 18.1 percent, it had by 1978 increased to 85.4 percent. The share of university and technical school cadres of the total number of workers in the GDR, which largely reflects the development of the socialist intelligentsia, increased from 6.1 percent in 1961 to 17.8 percent in 1978.

The progress made so far in reducing the share of living labor in the material production process has an effect in regard to improvement of the efficiency of our national economy and it also influences the quantitative and qualitative development of the working class as the principal force of social progress. Thus, to produce M 1 billion worth of national income, the production sector in 1970 needed 61 workers, while in 1979, only 42 workers were required. Ninety-four percent of the increase in national income produced since 1970 were attained through increased labor productivity. While in 1970 the degree of automation of industrial installations amounted to a mere 33.4 percent, it had by 1979 increased to 47.0 percent. The fact that it was possible during the period from 1970 to 1979 to increase industrial output to 166 percent is one of the achievements of the working class that reflect its development. During this period, commodity output in the electronics industry increased to 294 percent; in the data processing and office machinery industries, output increased 230 percent; in the man-made fiber industry, 221 percent, and in machine tool building, 222 percent.

As a result of the resolutions adopted at the Ninth SED Congress and of the socialist efficiency measures, we succeeded in systematically reducing the share of heavy manual labor and in enriching the work with intellectual-creative elements. Thus, during the period from 1976 to 1979, 878,000 work places in industry and in the construction and transportation sectors were modified or restructured. At the same time, these measures reduced the share of laborers working under difficult conditions from 26 percent in 1975 to 21 percent in 1979.

In spite of these good results, the development is uneven. In the assembly field, for example, close to 70 percent of all work is still being done manually; approximately 29 percent of the assembly workers operate machines and mechanical devices, while only approximately 1 percent operate automated equipment. In the auxiliary processes, i.e. in intra-plant transport and in the maintenance field, 60 percent of the work is being done manually.



At the same time, the qualitative development of the working class is closely bound up with the quantitative changes within the working class. Relative to the number of the other working people, the number of workers and salaried employees has been increasing in the course of socialist construction. From approximately 70 percent in 1945, 73.3 percent in 1950, 81.0 percent in 1960, 84.5 percent in 1970, their share has now increased to 89.3 percent. For the most part, the quantitative development of the working class in the GDR is no longer expressed in a high growth rate of the share of workers and salaried employees of the total number of working people; in accordance with the advances made in science and technology, it takes place on a different level. Thus the share of the workers employed in the service sector increased more rapidly than that of the workers in the traditional industrial sectors. It is above all the dynamics of scientific-technological progress which lead to changes in the numerical strength of individual segments of the working class and which open up to it totally new fields of work that a few years ago were still unknown. Thus the development of the working class is given special impetus by the emergence of new fields such as electronics and, in particular, micro-electronics, and by revolutionary changes in information technology, chemistry, the production of energy, and other fields.

The increasing concentration of workers in industry is likewise an important indication of the dynamic and quantitatively significant developmental process of the working class. It is precisely this developmental process that with the formation of the combines has reached a new level. The share of workers and salaried employees in centrally controlled industry, who are employed in combines, increased from 33 percent in 1970 to 88 percent. Finally, the share of workers is increasing in the agricultural production sector as well. Whereas in 1965 the share of workers and salaried employees of the total number of gainfully employed individuals in agriculture and forestry amounted to 24.6 percent, by 1979 it had increased to 32.1 percent. From all these data, it is evident that the quantitative growth of the working class has not yet been completed, that the development is by no means exclusively a qualitative one. Under the impact of the determining qualitative factors, the level of quantitatively significant transformations has changed. Thus in analyzing the class relations, we will have to taken into consideration the dialectics of qualitative and quantitative processes in the development of the working class.

Under socialist conditions, the scientific-technological revolution is inseparably linked with the advancement of the working class, which is reflected above all in the growing share of intellectual-creative work and in the related structural changes within the working class. The interrelationship that exists in this regard between the growing role of science in the production process, the increasing mechanization and automation, and the development of the working class is expressed both in its internal development and in the higher level of cooperation with the intelligentsia. To a large extent, it is on this interrelationship that progress in regard to the organic combination of the advantages of socialism with the

scientific-technological revolution depends. This process is promoted by the socialist state and at the same time, the working class takes advantage of its close links with the most advanced production processes so as to fully utilize new scientific findings and their technical and social effects. For as comrade Erich Honecker stated, we are unavoidably confronted with the task "on the basis of extensive basic research to produce more top-level results and without delay extensively to utilize them for economic objectives. Only in this way will we be able to reach the higher level of labor productivity that is necessary for the successful further development of the advanced socialist society in our country."<sup>5</sup>

In further developing--under the direction of the Marxist-Leninist party--in the process of combining the advantages of socialism with the scientific-technological revolution and in steadily consolidating its alliance with the cooperative farmers' class and the socialist intelligentsia, the working class is again proving itself as the principal social force of social progress. At the same time, this confirms the vitality of Marxism-Leninism, which with scientific precision determines the goal, tasks and principal forces of social progress. It is the working class--fighting under the leadership of its Marxist-Leninist party--that in league with all the other working people guarantees the further successful implementation of the socialist revolution in our country.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Karl Marx/Friedrich Engels, "Manifesto of the Communist Party," in: "Werke" [Complete Works], Berlin, 1959, p 482.
2. "Geschichte der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands. Abriss" [History of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany. Outline], Berlin, 1978, p 560.
3. Erich Honecker, "Rede auf der Festveranstaltung zum 30. Jahrestag der DDR" [Speech Delivered on the Occasion of the 30th Anniversary of the GDR], Berlin, 1979, p 30.
4. Karl Marx, "Das Kapital" [Capital], Vol 1, in: Marx/Engels, "Werke" [Complete Works], Berlin, 1962, p 512.
5. Erich Honecker, "Die naechsten Aufgaben der Partei bei der weiteren Durchfuehrung der Beschluesse des IX. Parteitages der SED" [The Next Tasks of the Party in the Further Implementation of the Resolutions of the Ninth SED Congress], Berlin, 1980, p 33.

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CHANGES IN GDR, FRG INTELLECTUAL CLIMATES COMPARED

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[Article by Prof Dr Heinrich Opitz, director, study program on Marxist-Leninist philosophy, Karl Marx Party College, SED Central Committee:  
"Achievements and Values in the Intellectual Life of Our Society"]

[Text] Proceeding from the intellectual-moral legacy of fascism, we will identify--in confrontation with certain phenomena of the unassimilated past in the FRG--the causes and crucial characteristics of the radical intellectual changes that have occurred in our country in the last 35 years. Special emphasis will be placed on the dialectics of social existence and social consciousness, on the role of values and value orientations and on problems concerning a still more effective utilization of our intellectual capacities.

"Fall in step! /Carry your heads high/ [words in slantlines printed in italics; emphasis by the author]! Get to work! Then there will emerge from distress and death, from ruins and ignominy the freedom of the people and a new dignified life."<sup>1</sup> Thus ends the KPD [Communist Party of Germany] Central Committee's historic appeal of 11 June 1945 to the working people in town and country. Carrying their heads high--that is the way the Communists have always fought. That is the way they led the antifascist resistance of the German people. And that is the way they fought side by side with the soldiers of the Red Army against the common enemy. Thus, it was with head erect that the KPD--after the defeat of Hitler fascism by the glorious Red Army and its allies--could appear before the public.

However, not many people were able in those days, in May 1945, to carry their heads high while setting to work. During the time of fascism, the minds of the people had been systematically infected with the poison of fascist-imperialist ideology. It was above all nationalist, anticommunist and revanchist prejudices that had confused the thoughts of a large segment of the German people and that had impelled many to support the fascist

regime. At the beginning of 1946, Wilhelm Pieck stated: "Today, as we begin--in the aftermath of the unprecedented catastrophe that Hitler fascism brought down on our people--to reconstruct our future, our glance wanders not only across the vast expanses of ruins; in the cultural realm, too, we are confronted with the horrible devastations caused by the cursed Hitler regime.... Just as this barbarian regime forced the entire economy to help prepare the imperialist war of conquest that had been planned from the very beginning, the entire cultural sphere was made to serve this purpose."<sup>2</sup>

The Communists, the class-conscious Social Democrats and the other anti-fascists were confronted with the gigantic task of totally renewing the intellectual life of the people. In particular, this meant to eradicate the Nazi ideology and to do away with racism, nationalism and chauvinistic arrogance toward other peoples. At the same time, the objective was to raise hopes for a new future, to overcome resignation and to give the working people confidence in their own strength. Above all, it was necessary to develop the class consciousness of the working class so as to mobilize that social power that alone could insure the German people regaining the respect of the other nations and overcoming their intellectual isolation.

Since then, 35 years have passed. Today we can justly say that we properly made use in our country of the historic opportunity offered by the defeat of Hitler fascism by the Soviet Union and its allies. Led by the SED, the unified working class and its allies guided the life of the people in a new direction, toward the road of peace, democracy and socialism. In the process combining the antifascist-democratic and the socialist revolution, the intellectual life, too, was totally restructured and given a new focus. It is especially in this respect that the radical changes that occurred in the life of our people are most apparent, for nothing reflects the true condition of a social system as vividly and thoroughly as does its intellectual life. The intellectual life of a nation reveals all the material living conditions of the society; it brings to light the social and political and the--ultimately decisive--economic conditions.

No matter what areas of our socialist society's intellectual life we examine--the curricula of the technical colleges, universities and general polytechnical high schools or the research plans of the institutes of the Academy; the book market, the newspapers and journals or the broadcasts of the radio and television networks; the activities of the Cultural League, of URANIA, of DEFA or--and this is the most important area--the practical conduct of the citizens, their work performance and way of life--we will see everywhere that in regard to its essential aspects the intellectual life is determined by socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism, by anti-imperialist solidarity, freedom, democracy, social justice, humanism and peace. These values are features characteristic of the real humanism of our system. They are part of the great accomplishments of our revolution that increasingly form the consciousness of the masses and



determine their conduct. It is not least in this aspect that the steadily increasing political-moral unity of the people of the GDR is reflected.

The development of a cordial and steadfast friendship with the Soviet Union is of truly historic significance. This friendship is based on the appreciation of the role of the Soviet Union as the pioneer of the progress of mankind and as the strongest bulwark for the preservation of peace. The friendship is inspired by the experience of extensive fraternal assistance lent by the country of the Red October in the socialist construction of the GDR. The friendship is deepened and consolidated by the all-round cooperation of our two countries, which is based on the Agreement on Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance of 7 October 1975. Today there is practically not a single family in the GDR that did not experience cordial encounters, contact through correspondence, joint work projects, eventful trips, shared adventures, celebrations or other precious events that involved the Soviet friends and that are lovingly remembered.

#### The Dialectics of Social Existence and Social Consciousness

The intellectual upheaval in the life of our people, which is vividly reflected in many modes of thought and conduct, did not by any means proceed smoothly and without conflict. For the shaping and development of a new social consciousness did not take place in an intellectual vacuum. In this process, it was necessary to rid the minds of incorrect, backward, sometimes reactionary, unscientific and simplified concepts and to overcome outdated habits of thought and many ideological reservations. Moreover, the imperialist class enemy did its utmost in the attempt to make the GDR's working people abandon their consistently antifascist-democratic and socialist course. Continuous massive harassment ranging from political threats and economic blackmail to sabotage were accompanied by unrestrained anticommunist and revanchist agitation. On the air, the ideological war against the GDR was waged without interruption. In the ideological struggle for the hearts and minds of the working masses, the SED proved itself also in this phase of the necessary intellectual upheaval as that political force that was able patiently and persistently to convince the people of the soundness of the course to be taken and to lead them toward concerted action. At all times, the SED employed an offensive approach in dealing with the imperialist ideology. Regardless of what was being discussed--whether it was economic problems or problems concerning education or the socialist reorganization of our agriculture--the SED was always primarily concerned with advancing that process of ideological clarification that was part of the solution of the given problems.

But the ideological work alone--however important--would not have been able to bring about this process of intellectual upheaval. Equipped with the social theory of Marxism-Leninism, which is based on a fundamental principle--"The social existence of the people determines their social consciousness"--our Party simultaneously concentrated on the task of revolutionizing the material social conditions, of changing the material living

conditions of the people. And the Party was guided by the realization that changes in the social conditions coincide with the changes in man himself, that it is above all in the process of practical revolutionary work, in the accomplishment of the given tasks that new habits of thought and conduct, new value orientations are gradually formed.

After the defeat of Hitler fascism, the antifascist-democratic upheaval and the socialist revolution were carried out in an integrated revolutionary process. Under the direction of the SED, the working class and the GDR's classes and strata allied with it broke for good the supremacy of the German bourgeoisie and of the Junkers [Prussian gentry] and carried out the revolutionary reorganization of the property relations concerning the key means of production. Thus it established the basic political and economic conditions necessary for solving the cultural and ideological problems. The establishment of the workers' and farmers' state and the elimination of exploitation were the decisive preconditions for establishing in our country Marxism-Leninism as the dominant ideology, for enabling the working people to acquire comprehensive professional and political knowledge and for creating an atmosphere conducive to creative intellectual work, to a spirit of discovery and inventiveness and to the development of universally educated personalities. With the changes in the material social conditions in the GDR, with the improvement of the material social existence of the people, there were gradually established increasingly favorable conditions for the development of an intellectual life commensurate with socialism. At the same time, however, the intellectual needs grew as well, as did the intellectual demands on the individual citizen.

The way in which this dialectic of social existence and social consciousness is fruitfully developed in life through prudent policies is illustrated by the hitherto most successful period in our country's socialist development since the beginning of the 1970's: Here one is struck by certain facts that are connected with the systematic implementation of the sociopolitical program and of its nucleus--housing construction. Housing and living conditions were improved for millions of citizens; opportunities were created for the development of their intellectual-cultural life and for the development of culture and art in general. To every citizen, it became more and more obvious that joint social efforts ultimately benefit everyone, that the individual citizen's good work performance helps to enrich the life of all, that it pays to become involved and to pay attention to the various social concerns, since everyone profits by this. One can justly say that with the implementation of the resolutions adopted at the Eighth and the Ninth Party Congress, the accomplishments and the values created have been further consolidated in our society's intellectual life as well.

This is demonstrated by the numerous initiatives advanced by the workers, the cooperative farmers, the intelligentsia and the other working people with the object of developing the productive capacity of our economy and of thoroughly consolidating our workers' and farmers' state. These

initiatives testify to the deep understanding for the political and economic tasks confronting the GDR, to the trust in the economic and social policy of our Party and to the firm resolve to contribute to its implementation. The initiatives also reflect the appreciation of all that has so far been created and accomplished. Initiatives such as the "Everyone Supplies Everyone With Quality" drive, the "Fewer Produce More" initiative or the "More Beautiful Cities and Communities--Take Part!" initiative reflect basic valuations of human conduct in all areas of social relations. Mutual assistance, comradely cooperation, understanding for one's fellow citizen, respect for his or her performance, community spirit, collectivism, joint responsibility, joy and happiness, beauty and enjoyment--these and many other values generated by our social practice are contributing factors in all of these initiatives. To disregard these interrelationships in the political-ideological work would mean to fail fully to utilize the advantages of our system. By making the people aware of these values, by firmly establishing these values in the thought, feeling and action of each citizen, we can mobilize the crucial force insuring the accomplishment of the present and future tasks of our common socialist cause. The adoption of these values by the individual citizen is an important part of the intellectual assimilation of our socialist reality.

No society can live without values or value concepts. They provide standards of conduct for the individual citizen and enable the citizen to judge the actions of others and to tell them what he or she expects of them. Whereas the scope and effect of an individual's activities are influenced by his or her knowledge and skills, the direction of the individual's work and his or her sense of responsibility for the results of this work are determined by value concepts. The fact that in our present social life there predominate modes of thought and conduct such as mutual assistance, collectivism, responsibility, respect for the performance of one's fellow citizen, the willingness to contribute to the consolidation of the political and economic strength of socialism and that these modes have become the behavioral norm for millions of citizens indicates the great importance of our system's achievements--which are considered values--for the conduct of the individual citizen. The elimination of the exploitation and subjugation of man and the establishment of the political power of the people in the form of our workers' and farmers' state--these are the foundations underlying the fact that in their living together, the people in our country are becoming more and more firmly committed to the shared values of socialism, values that increasingly determine the thought and conduct of all citizens.

Summing up the achievements of the last 30 years, comrade Erich Honecker stated: "The intellectual makeup of our people has undergone radical changes. The most important creation of the socialist revolution is the new human being."<sup>3</sup> In support of this claim, Honecker pointed to socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism, to the spirit of friendship among the nations and to the anti-imperialist solidarity, all of which are widespread and firmly rooted in our country.

Through figures, one can grasp no more than one aspect of what the social relations and activities actually represent and mean. However, figures do say a great deal about our action-oriented proletarian internationalism and we would like to present a few: Since its foundation, the Free German Labor Union Federation has donated over M 1 billion for solidarity-related work. In 1979 alone, the GDR workers donated over M 300 million for solidarity-related projects, in order to support the peoples in Africa, Asia and Latin America, who are fighting for their national and social liberation. The socialist republic of Vietnam received from the GDR additional support in the amount of M 265 million, which was derived for the most part from donations. In the International Year of the Child, M 30 million worth of goods were made available especially for children. National liberation organizations in Asia and Africa received medical supplies and equipment, food, clothing, and writing utensils. Specialists are trained in the GDR. Wounded freedom fighters receive medical care in GDR hospitals.

The recent trips of GDR party and state delegations to African and Arab states showed very clearly that for these reasons, too, our republic enjoys great respect in the world. Samora Machel stated: "Being a friend of our people, the people of the German Democratic Republic lent us assistance and support." And he emphasized that as members of the delegation headed by comrade Honecker, comrades-in-arms came to his country to assist the people of Mozambique in the most difficult hours of the struggle against Portuguese colonialism.<sup>4</sup>

#### Causes of the Failure Intellectually To Assimilate the Past

The citizens of our country have long been justified in carrying their heads high before the nations and they need not be ashamed of their history of the last 35 years. In the FRG, the situation is totally different. The recent events in connection with the Cologne Lischka trial and the delays in the prosecution of Ernst Thaelmann, a murderer residing in the FRG, again show with terrifying clarity the extent to which in the FRG the poison of Nazi ideology has been cultivated, a poison that in combination with anticommunist and revanchist prejudices impedes liberal thought and action. There is no doubt that certain incidents in current affairs can show up deeper, system-related social interrelationships and processes.

According to official FRG data, the district attorney offices have since 1945 conducted investigative proceedings against 82,667 individuals accused of fascist crimes. Only 6,425 cases resulted in a conviction. As of 1 January 1977, the investigative proceedings against 4,688 individuals were still in progress. In the FRG, the average duration of criminal proceedings against fascist murderers is now close to 17 years--that is to say that they have a chance of going scot-free.<sup>5</sup> What a social system! But these facts strikingly illustrate the intellectual situation in the FRG. The intellectual legacy of fascism has not been overcome; it has been preserved and renewed by those forces that had given rise to fascism and



that were not called to account. Due to the cultivation of these and other reactionary traditions, the devastating effect of anticommunist agitation and defamation on the minds of the FRG citizens has been intensifying. Of necessity, the reverse side of the coin is a serious orientation crisis, for anticommunist propaganda always means misinformation and manipulation and thus an increasingly unfree relationship of the people to reality.

An essential component of this orientation crisis is the disintegration or loss of values, which is deplored by various groups, even by archconservative forces. Thus Emil Kueng, the conservative Swiss economist and sociologist, recently pointed to "a rather disharmonious development" in the FRG and the other West European countries. "In comparison with the available technological means, the sense of responsibility is lagging. Both cultural refinement and moral constraint are underdeveloped, as compared to professional training." Above all, "It is the inner life, which shows symptoms of emotional malnutrition--under conditions of physical overfeeding. It is the existential insecurity that worries many people. The fear of the future and the existential anxiety indicate that a great many things are in a bad way--in spite of the fact that the general level of affluence has been raised and that the state's social services have been expanded."<sup>6</sup> In fact, in a society based on exploitation and subjugation, such intellectual deformations are inevitable, and a stable social life based on shared basic values commensurate with the dignity of man is impossible. The disharmony presently perceived by Kueng has always been a constituent element of the capitalist system. It is a symptom of the class split, of the basic contradiction between capital and labor, which is deeply rooted in the capitalist system.

However, Kueng's proposals for overcoming the noted disharmony between consciousness and existence are totally unrealistic. He recommends to push through to the "deeper layers of consciousness," to the "cerebrum" and to the "genes": "In this respect, one may entertain hopes for a /second enlightenment/ [words in slantlines printed in italics]. This hope is based on the assumption that the cerebrum is the most adaptable part of man and that man's learning capacities have not nearly been utilized to the full. Thus, through an 'intellectualization' it should be possible to recover the lost ground in the consciousness-based comprehension of existence." However, sensing the possibility of failure, Kueng states that certain "doubts regarding the intellectualization's chances of success cannot be entirely suppressed."<sup>7</sup>

Indeed, doubts are imperative, especially in view of the illusion that social changes such as new value orientations can be brought about by mere corrections of consciousness. This idealistic bias was disproved by Marxist-Leninist theory and by history, above all the history of real socialism. When confronted with capitalist reality, the ideals of liberty, equality and fraternity, which the best representatives of the rising bourgeoisie linked to that "realm of reason" they wanted to establish, failed just like other historic attempts just through appeals to

consciousness to effect basic changes in the life of society. On the basis of the Marxist finding that "As they change their reality, the people developing their production and their material contacts...change their thought and the products of their thought as well,"<sup>18</sup> it was proved in our country, too, that changes in the material living conditions are the crucial prerequisite for changes in the intellectual life. Our development confirms: The elimination of exploitation and subjugation is the precondition for making education, culture and other intellectual values enriching the life of the individual and of society accessible to all.

### Effectively Utilize Our Intellectual Capacities

In the past 35 years, knowledgeable citizens have grown up in our country, people with a solid educational background and with ideological convictions, with a broad mental horizon, politically mature and trained to share political responsibility. With the dissemination of the Marxist-Leninist world view and its assimilation by the masses, far-reaching changes have taken place in the modes of social conduct and thought, and there have emerged new ways of living marked by the spirit of socialist humanism. Guided by the philosophical realization--which in their consciousness has become a certainty--that the working people determine the course of history, the working people of the GDR are consciously and purposefully shaping their social living conditions. This knowledge strengthens their self-confidence and their willingness to meet the exacting and growing demands concerning expansion of the productive capacity of our country's economy--demands that result above all from the changed and still changing conditions in the international arena.

Today we have at our disposal in the GDR considerable intellectual capacities, which are manifested in the workers' high-level education and skills. This is a tremendous accomplishment in the life of our society. The resolutions of the 11th Central Committee session and the speech made by comrade Erich Honecker before the first kreis [GDR administrative unit] secretaries on 25 January of this year are aimed at utilizing more efficiently these intellectual capacities. Naturally, this is primarily a question of management on all levels--from the work collectives to the ministries. It will be necessary to make proper use of the cadres and to challenge them by setting ambitious goals, systematically to further young talent, to improve the control of scientific work procedures so as to accelerate scientific-technological progress, and rapidly to introduce new research findings into practical work. But above all, it is necessary to further the creativity of the workers, of the intelligentsia and of all working people and to support their efforts to produce top-level results and their search for new solutions.

In regard to these tasks, it is the responsibility of every party administration to lay the necessary ideological foundations. Experience has shown that also in regard to a more effective utilization of the intellectual capacities, basic ideological positions and attitudes must be "conquered"

again and again. The demands made by life are being raised continuously. With the further progress of science and technology, new opportunities are opening up for the solution of practical problems in industry and agriculture and in other fields that call for raising the sights. In regard to the development of intellectual life and the efficient utilization of the intellectual capacities, we must not rest on our laurels. This also means that in our political work with the masses and in our management activities we must always take into consideration the workers' level of education and training. At the same time, we must insure implementation of new, more exacting training measures commensurate with the respective concrete requirements.

A high level of education, a store of knowledge--indispensable for human creativity--on established interrelationships in nature and society is a basic element of socialist life. As a result of the ambitious goals that we have set for ourselves in regard to the combination of the advantages of socialism with the scientific-technological revolution, the demands on knowledge and on intellectual-cultural life in general are raised considerably. At the same time, in the process of practical development of socialism, the intellectual-cultural interests and needs of the working people are becoming more complex and differentiated. All this must be taken into consideration.

The intellectual culture of our people represents a tremendous force. It is a result of the practical development of socialism and at the same time, it is an indispensable prerequisite for conscious action on the part of the workers, whether on a small or on a large scale.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. "Working People in Town and Country! Men and Women! German Youth!" in: "Dokumente und Materialien zur Geschichte der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung" [Documents and Materials on the History of the German Workers' Movement], Series III, Vol 1, Berlin, 1959, p 20.
2. Wilhelm Pieck, "Um die Erneuerung der deutschen Kultur" [On the Restoration of German Culture], Berlin, 1946, p 13.
3. Erich Honecker, "Rede auf der Festveranstaltung zum 30. Jahrestag der DDR" [Speech delivered on the Occasion of the 30th Anniversary of the GDR], Berlin, 1979, p 31.
4. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 24/25 February 1979, p 3.
5. See "Anticommunism Makes Nazis Thrive," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 13 February 1980, p 3.

6. L. Kueng, "Wege und Irrwege in die Zukunft" [roads and Wrong Roads to the Future], Stuttgart, 1979, pp 203-204.
7. Ibid., pp 203 and 205.
8. Karl Marx/Friedrich Engels, "The German Ideology," in: "Werke" [Complete Works], Vol 3, Berlin, 1958, p 27.

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ROOTS, DEVELOPMENT OF FINE ARTS IN GDR REVIEWED

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 66, 29 Apr 80 'Iwe-kultur' supplement

[Report from Berlin: "SED for 'Breadth and Variety' in Fine Arts." A translation of the East Berlin EINHEIT article cited below follows this commentary]

[Text] The motto of the "Breadth and Variety" in the GDR's fine arts--which had been circulated by the SED at the beginning of the 1970's--was confirmed by the theoretical party organ EINHEIT in its latest issue (No 5, May 1980). According to EINHEIT, the orientation of art policy toward releasing the full range of artistic approaches and ways of expression has broadened the scope of artistic creation to an astonishing degree, not only in regard to individual approaches, but also to a great extent in the sphere of artistic generalization, visual reflection and assimilation of life. The party organ stated that it would be wrong and restrictive of the necessary breadth of socialist art to compare and rate the different possibilities of realistic representation; on the contrary, the special attractiveness of GDR art, especially that of the most recent phase, was attributable to the fact that it had opened up for itself a wide range of realistic creation.

In this connection, the SED organ did not even insist on socialist realism as an obligatory norm for the artists. According to the paper, socialist-realistic art never constituted more than just one segment of the entire range of the visual arts in the GDR; in all of art's developmental periods, numerous artistic phenomena originated from aesthetic foundations different from those of realism. The party organ pointed out that while these creations sometimes exhibited "considerable artistic power," socialist realism would nevertheless remain the "core of GDR art."

## GDR Art Scholar's Review

Last Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 35 No 5, May 80 signed to press  
7 Apr 80 pp 527-533

[Article by Prof Dr Ullrich Kuhrt, lecturer, Institute for Marxist-Leninist Culture and Art Studies, Academy of Social Sciences, SED Central Committee: "Fine Arts of the GDR--Intellectual Strength of Socialism." A translation of an earlier EINHEIT article by the GDR minister for culture outlining guidance for young artists and containing references to additional related information is available in JPRS 75503, 15 Apr 80, No 1779 of this series, pp 46-56]

[Text] The political power of the working class became the foundation of the intellectual and substantive restoration of our visual arts, of their function derived from the principles of real humanism. In their history of over 30 years, the fine arts of the GDR by "invalidating" proletarian-revolutionary and humanistically oriented traditions--have opened up for themselves a wide range of modes of realistic representation, ranging from portrayals reflecting life in its vivid immediacy to representations comprehending life in a symbolic, metaphoric, allegorical way.

Today, after a development of over 30 years, the visual arts of the GDR have arrived at a stage, at which their earlier phases are already a part of history. In view of this 30-year experience of art-historical development, it appears to be imperative in collaboration with art scholars to draw a valid, cogent picture of the process of the development of art in the GDR. The scope of such an historical work must be as comprehensive as possible; it must be scientifically well grounded and must make clear the interaction between continuity and discontinuity. In this regard, it would be wrong simply to negate certain stages of our art-historical development as unproductive for the further development. A superficial labeling of individual trends is just as inappropriate as an uncritical approach. Of necessity, elaboration of a scholarly history of GDR art involves thorough research and discussions among the specialists. This work has been started. Important exhibitions, especially those on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the GDR, further stimulated the interest in art history and the desire to intensify the research on the history of the GDR's fine arts and to continue the study projects in this field.

### On the Difficult Beginnings

The history of our fine arts, which are rooted in proletarian-revolutionary and humanistically oriented traditions, began with the defeat of Hitler fascism by the Soviet army and its allies in 1945. This historic turning point initiated a radical renewal of artistic creation, the most significant component of which was the conscious and systematic inclusion of the

arts in the development of a progressive way of life based on the principle of real humanism and which included the active support of the arts in the intellectual reckoning in regard to the ideological legacy of fascism. At the same time, important foundations of the fine arts' socialist perspective were laid in this process of defining the antifascist-democratic character of our art.

From the first paintings, which bore the imprint of the direct encounter with fascism and war--from Wilhelm Lachnit's "Der Tod von Dresden" [The Death of Dresden] (1945), Hans Grundig's "Den Opfern des Faschismus" [To the Victims of Fascism] (1946/48), and Horst Strempel's triptych "Nacht ueber Deutschland" [Night over Germany] (1945/46)--there was a continuous development to the first attempts to portray traits of the progressive forces of society that led the way in the process of reconstruction. The portrait of the "Neubauer" [Pioneer Farmer] by Otto Nagel (1949), the picture of the "Neuer Eigentuemer" [New Owner] by Hermann Bruse (1951) or the "Hausfriedenskomitee" [Domestic Peace Committee] by Rudolf Bergander (1952) represent--along with other outstanding paintings--art-historically significant evidence of the interchanges in the arts.

The direction taken here by the visual arts had no historical parallel. To be sure, there were important points of contact with the proletarian-revolutionary art of the Weimar Republic, and people were becoming increasingly aware of these links. But for the revolutionary upheaval that was in progress in the GDR, the "no" with which the progressive artists once had confronted the capitalist system was from a historical point of view no longer sufficient. The emerging socialist society called for a basically affirmative position of its artists. In this respect, the socialist culture and art of the Soviet Union assumed directive importance, especially during the first stages of the GDR's development. These conditions subsequently gave rise to an intensive, creative common outlook in regard to goals and methods, which has always been a distinguishing characteristic of our art.

It was at first only a relatively small group of aware, politically experienced artists--for the most part former emigres and individuals returning from fascist concentration camps--who recognized the task of reorienting art along antifascist and democratic lines and who changed their artistic approach accordingly. It was primarily their work that determined the character and basic course of the development of the arts in the early stages. Aside from the works of art already mentioned, the works by Max Lingner, Lea Grundig, Oskar Nerlinger, Alice Lex and many others and the sculptures by Fritz Cremer, Heinrich Drake, Theo Balden, Eugen Hoffmann, Walter Arnold and others are outstanding examples of this revolutionary artistic avant-garde, whose creative work has already become part of the heritage of our socialist-realistic art.

However, due to their bourgeois training, ideological position and life experience, most of the artists--although willing to take part in the

building of democracy and socialism--were not able to reorient their creative work. Consequently, during the period of the antifascist-democratic upheaval, one of the most important tasks of the working class party in the realm of cultural policy was to establish an extensive alliance between the working class and all constructive, democratic and humanistically inclined artists, to win them over to the cause of reconstruction. Enriched by new experience, this alliance--which had been proclaimed by Wilhelm Pieck as early as February 1946, at the KPD's [Communist Party of Germany] First Cultural Conference--demonstrated its strength in all phases of the development of the arts in the GDR.

#### Committed to Progress

The creative work in the fine arts assumed its historically specific character in a long, continuous process, which--like any process of artistic development--was never simply a mere progression from accomplishment to greater accomplishment; it also contained considerable contradictions, difficult problems concerning the creative process, problems that did not preclude conflicts in the work of the individual artist. The history of the GDR's fine arts is the result of the efforts made by many artists, who--filled with the desire to help advance socialist progress--contributed and still contribute in a very personal way to the development of an art based on the principles of real humanism and to the intellectual advancement of the socialist society. Under this aspect, the visual arts greatly help to develop the socialist national culture of the GDR.

The new quality of the fine arts in our country derives--as does any socialist art--from their inner intellectual links with the socialist society, from the historic mission of the working class and from their internationalist links with all people fighting for peace and progress. And the visual arts in the GDR could and can develop their art-historically independent quality for the following two reasons: Firstly, the ruling working class is led by a battle-tried Marxist-Leninist party that has always recognized its leadership responsibilities in regard to the cultural sphere and that is methodically pursuing a policy commensurate with these requirements. Secondly, the working people in the GDR are increasingly realizing through their personal experience that the basic objective of socialism is to change the world in accordance with the needs of the working people, to insure their happiness. In this process, which the imperialist reactionary forces are bent on thwarting and undoing, the working people are increasingly giving expression to their new, creative attitude toward work and life. These new characteristics in their turn are affecting the structure of art in regard to its subject matter; along with other aspects, they are becoming the "new subject" of the visual arts. The attempt to give dynamic expression to this subject matter in painting, sculpture and the graphic arts is characteristic of all phases of the development of socialist art.



There is a third reason why the fine arts have acquired special characteristics: In close interaction with the development of society as a whole, the artists have come to adopt an active, time- and life-oriented attitude. However, for the visual artist, too, the ideological-philosophical decision is by no means a nonrecurring, finite process. It is a continuous process, in the course of which the artist is again and again compelled to confront the political demands and social problems of his or her time and to draw from them the conclusions necessary for his or her work. For this reason, Party spirit, solidarity with the people, socialist ideas and masterly artistic skills are among the inalienable, closely interrelated principles of creative work in the realm of the visual arts.

### Fine Arts and Social Life

There was hardly ever a time when the visual arts were so closely linked with the development of society as a whole as during the building of the socialist society. In this process, the visual arts developed--in the course of events--a fascinating multiformity: In the choice of subject matter, in individual expression, in the differentiation between the individual types and genres.

It goes without saying that in the world of art the so-called classical types of the fine arts (painting, sculpture, graphic arts) continue to hold a dominant position. It is they that attract the attention of a constantly growing public. But along with these genres, the other fields of the visual arts have been assuming increasing importance, especially in those areas where art combines with architecture, with architectural city planning. Today there is practically no large city in the GDR, in which the attempts of public clients, city planners, architects and artists to introduce art into the architectural environment and thus to beautify and make more harmonious the daily life of the people have not produced significant and interesting results. This "synthetic" cooperation with architecture, with the visual and applied arts has left its mark on the atmosphere of a great many of our residential areas; it links art with everyday life, as it were, and it is becoming an important element of the socialist way of life.

A significant result of socialist educational and art policy is the fact that more and more working people are taking an interest--characterized by increasing expertise--in the fine arts, that they have recognized their value for their private life. The growing attendance at art exhibitions, the large number of clients of the state art galleries, the great interest in collecting works of art, especially works of the graphic arts, and many other phenomena are external indications of the importance of the visual arts in the life of many people.

On the basis of this need for art, the demands made by society on art and the artists, on their ideological-political and artistic maturity, have been growing and differentiating. Wherever these demands are looked down on or even disregarded, the social relevance of artistic achievements

declines. This interaction between the social demand for art and the ability of the artist to meet this demand, to cultivate it through his creative work and to raise it to a higher level, has always been one of the distinguishing characteristics of the arts in the GDR.

### Diversity of Subjects

In over 3 decades, the fine arts of the GDR have opened up a broad range of politically, socially and humanly significant subjects that reflect the development of socialism in our country, the development and history of socialist man, the worldwide struggle for peace and international solidarity, the intellectual critique of imperialism, the friendship among the nations as well as man's close links with nature and the diversity and themes of private life.

As in the 1950's, and in the 1960's in particular, the creative work made by the artists in regard to epochal subjects, in connection with the progress made in the development of the socialist society, with the exacerbated confrontation between socialism and imperialism, with the rise of the national liberation movement in the world (here especially in connection with the struggle of the Vietnamese people) produced works of great social-aesthetic impact. The mental struggle to produce works imbued with great ideas has always been a quality-determining factor of socialist art. Naturally, artistic creation is also always a personal struggle to produce the moving, experientially instructive form embodying the idea. Mastership is a comprehensive quality, in which the aspect of formal mastery of the creative task is dialectically linked with the weight of subject matter. In the history of GDR art, the memorials on the grounds of the former fascist concentration camps of Buchenwald, Sachsenhausen and Ravensbrueck--especially Fritz Cremer's great group of sculptures depicting the inmates fighting for liberation, but also the sculptures by Will Lammerts, Waldemar Grzimek and Rene Graetz, all of which were created in the 1950's--represent a culminating point of the artistic reckoning with fascism. These sculptures have already become classical works of socialist-realistic art, precisely on account of the embodied dialectical unity of the epochal ideas expressed and the perfect 3-dimensional form.

The social development of the 1960's, the fundamentally changed position of the working class in society after the victory of the socialist production relations and in the process of scientific-technological progress required of the artist new creative efforts. In the artistically novel reflection of fundamental processes of change such as the historically new position of the working class and the growing intellectual maturity of the worker, the progressive artists succeeded in producing a broad range of varied visual generalization and compositional solutions. In the best creative works of that time, the working individual is portrayed as the dominant, controlling force in the key areas of social life, in the production process, in the mastery of complex processes in the public and economic sectors, as the unceremonious embodiment of an actively creative

Attitude toward life characterized by the will to change, to improve the present conditions. Such tendencies are manifested in the portrayal of the worker and his world--from the "Schachspieler" [Chess Player] (1964) by Willi Neubert to Willi Sitte's "Chemiearbeiter am Schaltpult" [Chemical worker at the Control Console] (1968), figures that on account of the probing and differentiated psychological interpretation by the artist validly and impressively embody the processes of change characteristic of this time.

These processes were also depicted in novel representations such as large-scale integrated pictures, which combine different levels of place, time and happening in an all-encompassing composition and which graphically illustrate the dynamics and dimensions of entire historical processes. This process-oriented view of reality, which is reflected in Willi Sitte's paintings of the 1960's--"Leuna 1921" [Leuna = Leuna Works] (1965/66) and "Leuna 1969" (1968)--has long been a distinguishing characteristic of GDR art. The corresponding trend in the graphic arts is the increased use of a cyclical structure of significant subjects, in which historical processes and phenomena are interpreted, "analyzed", not only in regard to their chronological development, but also in regard to their complex, contradictory inner structure; good examples of this are the artistically perfect "Faschistischer Alptraum" [Fascist Nightmare], a series of paintings by Bernhard Heisig (1967/68), the prints and series by Gerhard Kettner, Lea Grundig and others.

These trends toward differentiation and extension of the subject matter, which brought about radical changes of form, also manifested themselves in the sculptures created in the 1960's, in the figure of the "Aufsteigender" [Rising Man] (1966/67) by Fritz Cremer; in its tense interaction of ebullient strength and languid decline, this figure--conceived as part of a great monument commemorating the liberation of the nations--becomes a moving symbol of the fluctuating process of the liberation of mankind from subjugation and exploitation.

This symbolization of the artistic message grew into a far-reaching creative impulse, which influenced the artists' work of the following phase. In the 1970's, there occurred in the realm of sculpture changes and advances that were far more extensive than those of the preceding decades. The artists intensified their efforts to reflect the process of the socialist society's development and maturation in its advanced phase, to capture the contradictions inherent in this process and at the same time to emphasize and mobilize the creative aspect of the reception of art.

Within this period, the GDR artists developed an array of elaborate techniques of visual representation, by which they creatively portrayed--in an experientially instructive fashion and without any heroic exaggeration--the multifariousness of life, the basic problems concerning the existence of man in the socialist society and in the present world in general, the threat to man represented by the forces of war, but also the real greatness

and vitality of the working people in the nonantagonistic society. The artists were very wide and differentiating in reflecting the phenomena and problems of community life, of the interrelationship between man and his work, and of private life--both individually and as a whole--thus not merely satisfying, but also stimulating and cultivating the demands and expectations of the viewer.

Paintings such as Volker Tiedke's works on the peasant wars or Wolfgang Matthieser's much-discussed "Ausgezeichnete" (Distinguished Woman) (1973/74) and the works of painters such as Volker Jitzmann, Frank Raddigkeit, Ulrich Rasmussen, Heinz Zander and others should not be regarded as mere reflections of persons or concrete phenomena, but as symbols with a complex message--symbols, the whole meaning of which is revealed only to those who make the effort thoroughly and repeatedly to study such works and, in so doing, use their intellectual faculties, experience and esthetic-artistic discernment. In this regard, too, the interaction between the continuity and the discontinuity of the artistic process assumed a new dimension.

#### Socialist Realism--the Dominant Method

The comprehensive integration of art in the life of the socialist society, its conscious orientation toward the changing reality, the increasingly close interrelationship between art and society postulate a principle of artistic creation that calls for and presupposes the artist's responsibility to society. Art as a basic element of intellectual life, as a force shaping the personality and imparting enjoyment, experience and insight calls for an interrelationship between the artist and reality, which makes reality the artist's source of creative inspiration, of ever new ideas and motives. Of necessity, this involves the artist's desire to transmit his or her experience in an informative, visual form commensurate with the experience of the public. These are the preconditions and foundations of realism, of the realistic method, which in our society assumes a specifically socialist character.

The creative method is that process which combines the various components of the artist's creative work and of his or her practical and intellectual relationship to the world in a self-contained whole: The artist's view of the world, his or her way of interpreting and evaluating experience, of expressing himself in a visual mode. The basic identity of the world view, goal of perception and mode of work of many like-minded artists makes the method of socialist realism transcend the boundaries of the individual. To be sure, the political position and the basic esthetic attitude of an artistic personality cannot simply be equated. As has often been the case in the history of art, considerable contradictions may spring up between the political position of an artist and his or her esthetic-artistic intentions. However, the inner unity of the basic ideological-political position and the artistic-creative position becomes the normal, ultimately indispensable foundation of the socialist artistic world.



Socialist-realist art has never been more than just one aspect of the visual arts in the GDR. In our socialist society, the scientific world view of the working class, Marxism-Leninism, is the dominant ideology. However, just as the ideological-political spectrum of our population comprises not only the world view of Marxism-Leninism, but a much broader range of ideological positions, many artistic phenomena in all of art's developmental periods originated from esthetic roots different from those of realism. And at times they testified to considerable artistic power. However, from the beginnings up to the present, all the crucial characteristics of socialist art have been based on the principles of realistic representation. Socialist realism is the core of the arts in the GDR.

### Wide Range and Diversity

The orientation of art policy toward releasing the full range of artistic approaches and ways of expression--which policy the party, drawing on important experience of the preceding periods, has been pursuing since the beginning of the 1970's--has broadened the scope of artistic creation to an astonishing degree, not only in regard to individual approaches, but also to a great extent in the sphere of artistic generalization, visual reflection and assimilation of life.

The visual arts of the GDR have always been characterized by a great diversity of modes of representation. However, the mode of representation which predominated during the first developmental stages and which, in reflecting reality, was oriented toward concrete events and strived for maximum accuracy and clarity is presently complemented by a metaphorically enriched mode of representation--used above all in the treatment of socially and historically important subjects--that makes reality less accessible. Proceeding from their knowledge and insight into objective interrelationships, many artists compose their pictures of symbols, allegories and metaphors. One increasingly encounters montage-like structures that combine disparate scenes and elements. Today this mode of representation characterizes outstanding works of art in all genres of our visual arts.

In particular, this mode of representation is characteristic of innumerable works in the graphic arts. But in sculpture, too, there have occurred far-reaching changes in this direction. The "Grosse Neeberger Figur" [Great Neeberg Figure] (1971/74) by Wieland Foerster, for example, is not merely intended to give pleasure through appreciation of a beautiful, sculpted physique; through the contradictorily dissonant shape presented, the sculpture wants to give rise to associations concerning the contradictory existence of man.

In the art of the 1970's, the trend toward increased emphasis on the metaphorico-allegorical also led to an increase in phantastic elements. However, the free, unrestricted play of visual imagination did not stand for subjectivist arbitrariness of realistic art. Of necessity, the life-oriented character and communicability of the work of art calls for a way of

representation that is accessible to the associative faculties of the viewer. Fantastic allegory can easily turn into an unsolvable picture-puzzle, if the artist claims absolute validity for his or her subjective concepts and ideas. Symbols become indecipherable, if they do not provide the viewer with any--or only with fragmentary--points of departure for meaningful association, if they disregard the historical-practical experience of the people. In the recent past, some of the GDR artists working in the fine arts failed to make a life-oriented, moving, experientially instructive statement in their work.

It would be wrong and restrictive of the necessary breadth of socialist art to compare and rate the different possibilities of realistic representation; on the contrary, the special attractiveness of GDR art, especially that of the most recent phase, is attributable to the fact that it has opened up for itself a wide range of realistic representation, ranging from that "direct" representation, which reflects life in its three-dimensional immediacy and spatial definition, to that representation, which employs a symbolic approach. Thus the subtle organism of the art of our time requires of the viewer a high degree of sensitivity and empathy, of intellectual effort toward comprehending the varied content of the artistic image. On the part of the artist, the task of further developing art in the interest and for the benefit of the socialist society calls for the artistic responsibility vis-a-vis society, which he or she bears as a citizen.

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SUMMARIES OF OTHER MAJOR 'EINHEIT' ARTICLES

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 35 No 5, May 80 signed to press  
7 Apr 80 'Resumes' addendum

Fruits of the Great Victory

[Summary of article by Sergey Georgeyevich Lapin, member, CPSU Central Committee; chairman, Soviet Society for Friendship with the GDR; pp 465-473]

[Text] The victory over fascism became a historic turning point in the development of mankind and resulted in a tremendous revolutionary advance. The working class in the eastern part of Germany assumed power and succeeded in establishing the GDR as a socialist state. The friendship between the peoples of the USSR and the GDR and the fighting alliance between the Communists of the two countries are indestructible. The cooperation is expanding in all fields; problems concerning the further development are solved jointly and within the framework of CEMA. The cooperation among the socialist countries strengthens their positions in the international arena and their effectiveness in the struggle for peace.

Industry--Key Sector of Our National Economy

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Helmut Koziolk, economist, candidate member, SED Central Committee; director, Central Institute for Socialist Economic Management, SED CC; member, GDR Academy of Sciences; corresponding member, USSR Academy of Sciences; member, EINHEIT editorial board; pp 500-506. A translation of this article is published under the heading, "Academician Reviews Process of GDR Industrial Growth," in a recent JPRS issue of EAST EUROPE REPORT: ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL AFFAIRS]

[Text] The development of our industry--proceeding under complex conditions on the basis of the liberation from fascism--has been dynamic and continuous. What are the distinguishing characteristics of our modern industry? What improvements are

being made? As the main producer of the national income, what is its function in regard to economic growth? What are its contributions to the development of other social sectors? The article emphatically points out industry's importance in regard to scientific-technological progress and shows how the combines serve further to improve the conditions necessary for accelerating this progress.

#### Effectiveness and Socialist Economic Integration

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Willi Kunz, economist, deputy director, Central Institute for Socialist Economic Management, SED Central Committee; chairman, Scientific Council for Problems of Socialist Economic Integration; pp 507-514. A translation of this article is published under the heading, "Effects of GDR-USSR Economic Plan Coordination Discussed," in a recent JPRS issue of EAST EUROPE REPORT: ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL AFFAIRS]

[Text] In the 1980's, the socialist economic integration will be assuming new dimensions. The objective integration processes are a basic precondition for intensification, greater efficiency and improved satisfaction of demand in the CEMA countries. What forms of cooperation--especially between the GDR and the USSR--can meet these demands? What are the requirements concerning the management of the integration processes, which must be met in order successfully to implement the program for specialization and cooperation between the GDR and the USSR?

#### Eighth Communist Party Congress of the People's Republic of Poland

[Summary of article by Karlheinz Philipp, political researcher, SED Central Committee; pp 534-540]

[Text] The proceedings and the results of the Eighth PZPR [Polish United Workers Party] Congress demonstrate: The policy pursued by our brothers in the Polish party is in accord with the vital interests of all of the country's working people. The following problems are analyzed in detail: Results of the economic and social policies; basic trends of the further socialist development in industry and agriculture; improvements in the working and living conditions; consolidation of the leading role of the working class and its party as the basis of the political-moral unity of the people; new dimensions of the alliance and of the cooperation with the USSR and the other states of the socialist community; continuation of the struggle for peace and detente.



## PASTORAL LETTER OF LODZ BISHOP ON HUMAN RIGHTS NOTED

London DZIENNIK POLSKI in Polish 11 Aug 80 p 4

[Unattributed article: "The Battle With Religion in PPR Does Not Stop: The Celebrated Pastoral Letter of the Lodz Bishop"]

[Text] Despite their beautiful words and promises, and notwithstanding their international obligations, the regime authorities are not respecting human and civil rights, in particular where religious matters are concerned.

This comes from the pastoral letter of the Lodz bishop, Rev Jozef Rozwadowski. The pastoral letter is dated 12 June 1980, but it did not reach us till now. Here are the most important excerpts:

"The Universal Human Rights Declaration voted by the UN General Assembly on 10 December 1948, and binding all member states, solemnly proclaimed the absolute equality of every human being before the law and the equal authority to protection against discrimination vested in each individual. Moreover, the Polish People's Republic PPR ratified the International Pact on Civil and Political Rights on 16 December 1966, on the strength of which our country was obligated to guarantee to all citizens freedom of thought, conscience, and religion, and public and private freedom to practice their religion."

### Upbringing of Children

"Families were guaranteed the right to assure their children a religious and moral upbringing consistent with their convictions. Every citizen without distinction by religion will have this same right and the possibility of access to public service on principles of equality, without any restrictions."

### The Provoked Response

Meanwhile, the following reply by the first secretary of the Lodz Inner City PZPR City Section Committee was published in No 123 of GLOS ROBOTNICZY on 31 May 1980:

"I consider it advisable to (...) sharpen cadre policy criteria of the Ministry of Education and Upbringing and the Ministry of Higher Education and Technology. These criteria should constitute a guarantee of education of youth in the spirit of a materialistic world outlook."

The quoted response calls unequivocally for the exclusion from employment of atheists as teachers and educators in school systems and upbringing institutions at all levels and for barring believing citizens from these functions. Moreover, it dictates the upbringing and education of youth solely in the spirit of a materialistic world outlook--regardless of the will of families and of youth themselves. Therefore, it is a public denial of the international agreements signed by Poland and a call to break openly the binding law in our country.

#### Illegality

The PPR Constitution guarantees its citizens equal rights. Granting of privileges or restriction of rights on account of religious denomination are punishable.

Infraction of the mentioned guarantees is an offense within the meaning of the Penal Code, which establishes that "whoever restricts a citizen's rights on account of his membership in a religious denomination is subject to imprisonment for up to 5 years."

As things stand now, the reply published in GLOS ROBOTNICZY is illegal.

#### Declaration of the Vatican Council

Holy Father John Paul II calls on christians to call "injustice, exploitation of man by man, or exploitation of man by the state by its proper name. We must call by its rightful name every social injustice, every instance of discrimination, every rape perpetrated against the body and the human soul, against man's conscience and his convictions" (speech of 21 February 1979).

Therefore, I strongly remind you that all believing citizens, when they encounter instances of the discrimination against religious denominations that is forbidden by law, both in the school systems and in whatever other public service, have a moral obligation to investigate their authority on account of the joint responsibility they bear for community life in our country.

LODZ PARTY OFFICIAL ADDRESS ON SHAPING OF SOCIALIST FAMILY NOTED

Lodz GLOS ROBOTNICZY in Polish No 123, 31 May-1 Jun 80 p 2

[Unattributed article: "At the Plenum of the PZPR Lodz Committee: Civic Feeling of Responsibility for Issues of Children and Family"]

[Text] In the last quarter of 1979 the Plenum of the PZPR Lodz Committee deliberated, discussing problems of the development and strengthening of the family. We published in yesterday's issue the conference statement and the report given by Boleslaw Koperski, first secretary of the PZPR Lodz Committee. Today, with insignificant abridgments, we are publishing the address given by Tadeusz Lewandowski, first secretary of the Lodz Inner City PZPR City Sector Committee.

"The family fulfills and will continue to fulfill an irreplaceable function in forming human character. There is no socialist society without persevering, strong, and spiritually healthy families."

Comrades!

Whenever I think about the great Polish family and, among it, about my own, there comes to mind precisely that unusually clearly conceived interpretation presented by Comrade Edward Gierek, leader of the party and the nation.

We have enormous, undeniable achievements in the area of improving living conditions for Polish families. Thanks to the consistent activity of our voivodship party echelon in the decade of the 1970's, thousands of Lodz families also can say and often do say that they live better!

But it is a well-known truth that satisfaction of some needs generates new ones, also against the background of developing aspirations, of course.

In the conversations which we are holding with hard-working people, the enormous significance is emphasized of that excerpt, among others, of the resolution of the Eighth PZPR Congress in which it is stated that "the Party recognizes as its important task the formation of ever more favorable conditions of developing and strengthening the family, within the framework

of which people's personalities are shaped, value systems are formed, and the nation's heritage is bequeathed and strengthened."

Governed by these teachings, we are solving difficult tasks: better supply of the domestic market, and more efficient functioning of trade, services, catering and urban transport.

We are seeking better solutions in the field of preschool care and health care. We are making efficient efforts towards implementing a program of "independent housing for each family." We are making efforts leading to the achievement of ever more efficient functioning and ever higher quality of this housing.

But a number of issues, both these small ones and more important ones, can and should be perceived and handled more quickly. Frequently, simply good will and the desire to act are necessary.

We are taking up many of these issues in the work of the District Committee and the People's Council.

Modernizing old factories in our district of the city is a problem of enormous import. A lot has been done through the efforts of these establishments alone. Today, work in tens of factory departments is less wearing. Many breakfast, recreational, and health care accommodations have been organized. The subject of our concern is the improvement of the functioning of canteens and factory cafeterias.

In the last 2 years we have organized six light work departments in inner city factories for pregnant women. Altogether, there are more than 150 work positions in seven departments; 366 pregnant women were employed there in 1979. In the departments work is one shift, and work time is arranged so that work begins after peak traffic hours.

Among other issues, the City Section People's Council has taken up such issues as:

- work with socially maladjusted children,
- the quality and availability of medical care,
- avoiding infant mortality and the birth of children with defects,
- propagating "childbirth schools,"
- improving patient conditions in maternity and newborn wards,
- perfecting medical care for schoolchildren and university students,
- care for the elderly.

Adoption of these subjects--of course--was connected with defining tasks and programs in the area of the examined problems.

By summoning into the districts of the city the coordinating staff for matters of relaxation for children and youth, we have obtained significantly



more departures for summer camps and colonies and a larger share of children in semicolonies.

Implementation of the program of celebrations of the International Year of the Child has yielded good results.

Among these results let us mention only a few, such as:

--increasing the interest in production of indispensable products for children and youth,

--development of adoption,

--aid for families with many children,

--organization of amusement areas and reading rooms for children,

--funding by establishment collectives of 148 housing accounts for orphans. We have put the equivalent value--a check for the sum of just under 5 million zlotys--at the disposal of the voivodship authorities, in accordance with the slogan: "All children are our children."

We shall strengthen this favorable climate and feeling of responsibility for matters concerning children and families in the metropolitan area, and we shall also develop them in subsequent years.

Comrades!

In creating the needs of families responsibly in economic and social policy, society has the right to expect from families responsible behavior, motivated not only by individual interest but also by higher reasoning.

We have many families which we can set up as examples in this regard, but there are also those which cannot manage to, or which do not want to, fulfill their duties to society.

I do not know how numerous they are, but we all know, after all, that there are those who have two faces: one, at the office, in the organization, and the other "for private use," at home, with acquaintances, where everything which is proclaimed publicly is disavowed. It is precisely from this situation that youth's disillusionment, bad attitude towards work, neglect of obligations, and shirking of responsibilities spring.

Too frequently we obligate schools and youth organizations exclusively to enlighten our children, an activity on which the well-being of the country and of every citizen depends.

How often we say to our children: "Study so you won't have to work hard," instead of: "study so you will know how to work well."

But does such advice--in which the consumer attitude toward life, with its characteristic pursuit of material possessions, rules exclusively--fall within the concept of the socialist family?

Whoever behaves this way has nothing in common with socialist morality. Therefore, in forming the model of the socialist family, in its practical implementation, we must struggle against warped family examples and constantly correct mistakes and take care that what we do is consistent with the spirit of our times.

The present brings many new problems without the knowledge of which it is difficult to talk about responsibility for oneself and the upbringing of children. Integrity of behavior and the personal example of family members are like an irreplaceable trump card in upbringing with which the role of verbal instructions lessens.

In concluding my speech, I consider it advisable for:

--sociopolitical organizations to carry out periodic evaluations of the moral attitudes and involvement of their members in matters of strengthening the family. Profiles of good mothers and good fathers should be disseminated, also in the press and not only the central press.

--the most active members of sociopolitical organizations to be evaluated both for their share in agitprop work and for their honest fulfillment of obligations to the family and the socialist upbringing of their children.

--cadre policy criteria in the Ministry of Education and Upbringing and the Ministry of Higher Education and Technology to be sharpened. These criteria should constitute a guarantee of education of youth in the spirit of a materialistic world outlook. Schools of university standing which are shaping the future cadre of teachers and leaders should be assigned a particular role in this matter. This cadre should be distinguished by its deep ideological involvement.

--the implementation of provisions contained in party documents on the subject of upbringing of youth to be done consistently.

I wish at the same time to inform the voivodship echelon that in the 30,000-member metropolitan area party organization more and more frequently, although not without difficulties in practical action, we are taking up issues of the responsibility of party members for the development and strengthening of the socialist family.

We rank these problems among the particularly important subjects of party and state work, and we are taking them up also in the course of the individual conversations being held at present with party members and candidates. We believe that party members should lead the way in implementing socialist upbringing assumptions, and our attitude towards the family should constitute an essential criterion of party evaluation.

ABUSES OF CONCEPT OF 'MORAL/POLITICAL SUITABILITY' NOTED

Contradictory Judicial Actions

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1542, 20 Jul 80  
pp 22-23

[Article by Vuk Draskovic: "Inviolable Unsuitability"]

[Text] After all that the highest officials and organs of the LCY have said about abuses of the term "moral/political suitability" and about the unconstitutional and unlawful labeling and discrediting of people, renewed criticism of these phenomena may seem like knocking on a door that is wide open. Especially when one is aware that in early 1978 the Constitutional Court of Vojvodina clearly stated that "the moral/political suitability of an individual is assumed" and that "there cannot be any enactment of any body or organization which disqualifies or qualifies any person" in the sense of lacking "moral/political attributes."

In this decision, which has logically become a source of law for all courts in the country, the Constitutional Court of Vojvodina has also declared to be unconstitutional the practice (to be sure sporadic) of equating "moral/political suitability" with membership in the LCY. It is exclusively a matter of the individual's sovereign freedom of conscience whether he is or is not a member of the LCY or some other sociopolitical organization.

"I Am Profoundly Unhappy ..."

Unfortunately, "moral/political suitability" is still required of applicants in many competitions for employment, especially when supervisory positions are being filled. In practical terms they are required to submit "confirmation" or an "assurance" that they are honest men. Who is to issue them this confirmation? A work organization, the house council, the department of ethics at the university?!

Or, to turn the question around: can local communities, party or trade union organizations, professional management collegiums or various personnel commissions and forums in opstinas issue certificates to the effect

that certain people are not "morally/politically suitable"? Can they do this, in particular, in closed meetings, behind the public's back and even behind the back of the man who is being disqualified?

This journalist has before him two enforceable and relatively recent decisions of the Vojvodina Court of Associated Labor which state that all of this is possible and all of this is allowed. To make matters worse, both these decisions were published, apparently to serve as models, by the Belgrade journal RADNICKO SAMOUPRAVLJANJE--PRIRUCNIK ZA SAMOUPRAVNU PRAKSU [WORKERS' SELF-MANAGEMENT--REFERENCE FOR SELF-MANAGEMENT PRACTICE].

"... As this court sees it," the first decision states, "sociopolitical organizations, including the League of Communists, /have jurisdiction/ (emphasis supplied by V. D.) and /are authorized/ (emphasis supplied by V. D.) to evaluate the moral/political suitability of an individual with full responsibility. The court should accept such an evaluation as a fact...."

"... The court of associated labor," the second decision states, "is not authorized to reassess the moral/political assessment that has been made, nor even the existence of the facts which were the basis for issuing that assessment, but for the court this moral/political assessment is a fact, and the court shall ascertain only whether such an assessment, should it be one of the special conditions for employment, does exist and whether it was issued by the competent organ of the sociopolitical organization...."

In other words, the court unreservedly and in advance accepts the "assessment" and "opinion" of the /competent organ/ [in italics] as an inviolable fact, as the supreme and only truth. In this it has obviously shown not the least concern about the decision of the Constitutional Court of Vojvodina, which proclaimed these "inviolable" opinions and assessments of people's ethics illegal, unconstitutional and prohibited.

When this reporter showed these decisions to Dr Nikola Balog, professor of the School of Law in Novi Sad and president of the Constitutional Court of Vojvodina, he only said: "This makes me profoundly unhappy." Then he walked off into his office and brought an article he had recently published. "... Any arbitrariness which violates or restricts a man's freedoms and rights is not only unconstitutional, but also punishable. No law whatsoever, nor any status of an organ or person can protect it against this: it is unconstitutional and punishable regardless of who does it...."

"It goes without saying," Professor Balog said, "that the constitutional norms are binding on everyone.... On the whole Kardelj's idea is relevant when he says that the stage of restricting the class enemy is now turning, passing, into the stage of ever greater breadth of democratic relations among people (and of the relation of the state and its agencies toward people) and that the main direction of political development and the class struggle lies toward that new goal. The class enemy is beaten and eliminated by the expansion of democratic relations and by the exercise of the

rights and freedoms of the individual citizen.... This idea and lesson should become a kind of legal conditioned reflex."

Especially since "class enemies" cannot be found even with a candle among the people who have been labeled and marked as morally/politically unsuitable in by far the greatest number of cases. By and large these are good workers and honest citizens, irreproachable and honorable men. Often they have ended up at the "pillar of shame" because they have "stepped on the toes" of some arbitrary individual (or group) in a work organization, which is blamed on "personnel people" on various opština commissions, whose rights--we learn from the court decisions we have quoted--are practically unlimited.

Jovan Koprivica, a Belgrade lawyer, also calls attention to this. "There is no fact," he says, "which is considered beyond question and proven in advance before the court. Even the verdict of another court is not an indisputable fact that cannot be overturned from the standpoint of the court. Were this the case, then a higher court would be unable to set aside and modify decisions of lower courts. Even a law of the SFRY Assembly is not a sovereign fact that cannot be overturned. Even it will fall if it is found to be contrary to the constitution. These are the ABC's of the law. No one who has failed to learn this can enroll in the second year of law school. It is, then, really amazing, to put it in the mildest terms, that the judges of the Vojvodina Court of Associated Labor have proclaimed an 'assessment' concerning the 'moral/political suitability' pronounced by a 'competent organ' to be something which cannot be checked and which is not to be questioned. Regardless of how isolated it may be, we need to devote some good thought to this case."

#### Good Principles and Bad Examples

Vlajko Soskic, judge of the Supreme Court of Serbia, recalls the classical principle of the freedom and independence of judicial deliberation, which is set forth in very eloquent and symbolic form in Article 272 of Dusan's Code: "All judges are to judge as it is written in the code, and they are not to judge out of fear of the imperial will!"

"The problem does not lie," Soskic says, "in the existence of coordinating committees and the premises of moral/political suitability for performance of certain functions, but in the fact that here and there it is not the working class and the working people manifesting as instruments of self-management their competencies, activity and conceptions of moral/political suitability, but that this is being done by a monopoly of individuals and groups, and there is occasion for manipulation of people, so that those who are loyal and obedient are favored under the shield of moral/political suitability, while able citizens committed to socialist self-management are held back. They are proclaimed to be unsuitable because they are not obedient to those individuals and groups."



More and more frequently, however, we hear the opinion that the very concept of "moral-political suitability" is so unfortunate, illogical and cumbersome, so subject to abuse, that it is untenable in practice.

Nevertheless, "moral/political suitability" and the abuses that come from it still do survive. There is no doubt that Mironlav Krleza is right when he says: "When you are attacking a socialist stupidity in the broadest sense of that word, there are always those who will charge you with attacking socialism itself."

#### Implications of One Case

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1542, 20 Jul 80  
pp 22-23

[Article by Petar Ignja: "Suitable Gardener"]

[Text] This is a tale about a man who is a bit unusual, a man who at one time acquired the "title" of moral/political unsuitability, who carries it about his neck even today like a medal and who will not be rid of it (as matters stand at the moment) to the end of his life. And what in the world did he do?

Bozidar Todorovic, a history teacher, has been teaching children for 21 years. "I have never received an official reprimand, I even had the reputation of a good teacher," he said.

"I was born in 1930 in a teacher's family. My mother died back in 1937, leaving my father us five children to take care of. My father was transferred 14 times and once lost his position because he was unsuitable in prewar Yugoslavia. In Milovan Djordjevic's chronicle about the Cer Mountain village Bajic refers to my father as a progressive teacher in that region. My older brother and I became members of SKOJ [Communist Youth League of Yugoslavia] even in the autumn of 1944. My older brother died after taking sick as a member of a labor brigade back in 1946. I remained in SKOJ until it merged with the youth organization (ask Stanisa Avramovic, address 23 Paris Commune Street, office phone 339-614, who at that time was secretary of the school committee in Cacak High School). I graduated from high school in Cacak. I graduated from the School of Philosophy in Belgrade and obtained my master's degree at the School of Political Science in Belgrade. I have taught in three high schools: in Aleksinac (7 months), in Sabac (14 years) and in the Fourth Belgrade High School (6.5 years)."

Why has Bozidar Todorovic insisted so much on his past? "The past, that is what we are," he says.

When he came to Belgrade from Sabac, he was bewildered that people close to the director enjoyed various (and many) privileges, and this went unnoticed. To his misfortune, he was one day elected to the workers' control

committee. He was its fifth (equal) member, but the only one who called attention to the school both orally and in writing: that Caslav was working only 4 days a week, that certain teachers were not meeting their classes, that the music teacher was taking the children to a concert conducted by her husband and was recording this as classroom time, that Zika Mirkovic (physical education instructor) always went off to a job in Norway before the end of the school year, that apartments were being awarded on the basis of personal judgment, that the results of work were being evaluated without any true basis....

"It was not long before advice began to come in from all sides for me to keep my mind on my work, that the principal was a very powerful woman, that she enjoyed unlimited trust, that one without horns has no chance with those that do.... This was a new environment for me. I was alone in the big city. Then Zika Mirkovic came to me. He invited me to his home. I often went to see him, and he came to see me. We jointly organized sports and recreation activities in the school, which we both liked. He told me that I should calm down, that I should not rebel (not only in meetings), that there was no chance of changing anything here. He said to me: can't you see that here she alone rules everything around us? It was hard for me to listen to the words of my friend, and they made me very bitter. Everything in me rebelled, and I insistently tried to call his attention to everything being undertaken in our society to correct certain deformations. He laughed: at my political naivete, at my innocence and at my idealism."

One day Zika invited Boza to Norway (with the distinction that the latter went after the end of the school year). That summer there was a long and heated debate in Oslo. "If society is not what it ought to be, then it is because of you and people like you who approve everything in declarations, but who confine their attention to their work," Boza said to Zika's face that summer in Oslo.

Zika remained in Oslo another year, during which the two friends exchanged a dozen or so letters. "Neither he nor I paid much attention to what we wrote," Todorovic said. "Those were the letters which a friend sends to a friend, they included things off the top of my head, things I did not think over seriously, exaggerations, and also answers to his questions and provocations. He kept my letters, I did not keep his."

When he was elected to the workers' control committee, Boza sent another letter to his friend in Oslo and said that people were accusing him of keeping silent about the others' privileges.

And in October 1975 Boza informed Zika that as a member of the workers' control committee he would make his case public and seek a stop to it once and for all. "Zika then called me and threatening me with the letters informed me that if I submitted the report I would end up on Goli Otok [Adriatic island used as prison for political offenders]."

Boza nevertheless did submit the report and did not end up on the island referred to. But he was brought to trial--on the basis of Zika's charges--in the school itself (other "evidence" was also gathered), and Bozidar Todorovic was fired as a teacher. The courts of associated labor confirmed the school's decision.

What was written in the letters to Oslo? The present author has not read them, but many people have. For example, competent people have interrogated Professor Todorovic and dismissed his case. There was nothing to his discredit in the letters.

The present author (along with many other newsmen) did attend the /school trial/ [boldface] of Professor Todorovic. It lasted at least 3 hours and was very painful. The Caslav we have already mentioned sat as chairman of the disciplinary commission; he is the one whom Todorovic had previously criticized in public "for having transferred his own children from the Seventh to 'his own' high school and for even having managed to get his own son made class monitor." The trial was conducted in a strange manner: the floor was given (exclusively) to the witnesses for the prosecution.

There was a bandying about of "grave words" at that time (and also in the court), and any doubt as to their truthfulness could cause people headaches. So they kept silent and voted against an unfortunate person. There were also lighter words, such as these: he chewed chewing gum and played soccer (or basketball) in shorts, though he has hairy legs, he shaves his head....

Professor Todorovic did not throw up his hands, he continued to fight for justice and continued to learn: half a year after he was fired, he defended his master's thesis on the topic of self-management.

In the 3.5 years he was without a job Bozidar Todorovic, a history teacher with an M.A. in political science, read many job advertisements and filled out the same number of applications. But no one would have anything to do with him: on that little piece of paper (which is supposed to help a man get a job and which is popularly referred to as the reference from the bureau) it was always written that he was "morally/politically unsuitable."

After some 30 futile job applications, Professor Todorovic, holder of an M.A., was in the pitiable situation of the struggle to keep from starving. He worked at all kinds of jobs, but most frequently he carried mortar and brick for private building contractors. One day he applied for a position at an elementary school as a gardener. The response was negative: "The school's competition commission has been unable to include (him) in the finalists because he does not fulfill two conditions--a) he has much more education than is required and b) he is not morally/politically suitable to perform the tasks and work duties of a gardener."

He sent me the letter a few days ago. "I am writing to you at work," he said, "and I will therefore be very brief. I have become employed as a gardener at the School of Forestry in Belgrade. To be sure, it is short-term employment, just until their worker returns who is on sick leave. The job is not particularly difficult ... I cut the grass and tend their grounds and mostly do the transplanting for various plants which they are raising. They are mainly flowers, since I am working in the horticultural section. I do the watering, I dig and I weed the garden.... It is good for the present, much better than working for the private contractors, and I am treated more decently as a worker."

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## CONTROVERSY OVER EDUCATIONAL REFORM IN CROATIA AIRED

### Deadline for Discussion Extended

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1542, 20 Jul 80  
pp 7, 9

[Article by Mladen Maloca: "A Law Under a Magnifying Glass"]

[Text] Debate on the proposal for passage of a law on vocational education was supposed to come to an end here in July in the Socialist Republic of Croatia, but its termination date was at the last moment moved to the beginning of the fall after many objections were made. This opened up a certain space for the complicated and delicate subject matter to be debated more thoroughly and comprehensively.

Though the original deadline (15 July) was relatively tight, there was still a confrontation of views and positions concerning this most recent step on the reform front. What is more, it might be said that this was an occasion for many people to revive those somewhat older, but still alive and present, dilemmas concerning the nature of the reform itself and concerning the real possibilities of carrying it through to the end consistently.

### Raised Voices

The aim sought in the draft of the law on vocational education, it was stated in the supporting arguments that accompanied it, was to cover that broad area of training and education which has up to now been regulated through several legal enactments.

Adoption of the new law would regulate in an integrated way the training and education for many occupations all the way up to the highest levels of specialized training. So conceived, then, its creators believe, such a law would be yet another contribution to speeding up and encouraging implementation of the principles of the reform which have been outlined.



What happened, and it seems it was not unexpected, was that the proposed version of this legal text was not welcomed everywhere. A sizable number of objections and questions, both fundamental and specific, were forthcoming from educational institutions, from the university, and from the ranks of the youth and student press. The responses and explanations which followed in these public or less public confrontations were often more elevated even than the questions themselves. If we are to judge by the reaction of Dr Stipe Suvar, the reasons have to do with ideology and politics, and he attempted to portray their background at the recent plenum of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Croatia. On that occasion Suvar's harsh warning went without response, but it will probably be discussed at one of the coming meetings of that body which have been announced, a meeting which, it was resolved, would devote attention precisely to developments on the cultural, ideological and political front.

"I would say," Dr Stipe Suvar observed at that meeting of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Croatia, "that the battle has now become fierce over whether we will continue to change education or whether the forces resisting the changes will maintain the status quo."

Suvar called particular attention to the objections coming from the university community, which talk about a shattering of the integrity of education and about placing it "under the primitive practice of an organization of associated labor," about how the entire self-management spirit of schools and the university is being destroyed, that all this amounts to "statist regulation and bureaucratic government by decree," that it is a question of "various fabrications and stupidities which will have catastrophic consequences." Suvar answered these objections as follows:

"This is what we are being told even by certain Marxists at the university, but from them we have already heard many more fateful prophecies in the past."

#### Objections and Responses

That the reform, and therefore this recent legislative bill as well, is not being followed with indifference, was also confirmed by last week's "Free Wednesday," which was followed by a large TV audience and by the debate organized a bit earlier by the commission of the Zagreb City Conference of the League of Communists for activities of the League of Communists at the university. It was also confirmed on these occasions that the processes of reform in Croatia are being followed with a great deal of attention, that dilemmas are arising, some of which are purely practical in nature and some have more fundamental importance. Many people are noting that Croatia has moved out in advance of the other republics in its ambitions and that this role, which is a bit out in the lead and pioneering, has its price.

In the meantime several serious objections were forthcoming from the university. STUDENTSKI LIST published some of the reactions to which Dr Stipe

Suvar was reacting with quite a bit of severity. The reform, says a report on the discussion in the School of Political Science, is possible only if there is a change in society as a whole. "Nevertheless, often things are undertaken from the idealistic viewpoint that changes in education (representing the superstructure) will bring about changes in the base of society, which is production...." At the School of Philosophy there are objections that the draft of the law has devalued the scientific training components to a large extent. Similar objections were made back at the very beginning of the public debate by the youth publication POLET, which led Suvar to speak very harshly about this newspaper and articles in it.

Dr Stipe Suvar, perhaps under the pressure of these and similar criticisms, has uttered harsh descriptions of the situation and relations at the university. According to him, at the university there is "neither self-management, nor free exchange of labor, nor enough of the work ethic, nor adequate quality in the process of education, nor do the students act sufficiently in the role of principals." This judgment was expressed in a meeting organized by the commission of the Zagreb City Conference for the activity of party members at the university specifically devoted to debate of this bill on vocational education. On that occasion university officials, however, also made a number of other objections, but they can be briefly boiled down to the opinion that the free exchange of labor, which is supposed to be the basis of the new relation and indeed of reformed education, is not functioning in practice as expected. Also, that basic organizations of associated labor do not in the great majority have their own development plans, nor, therefore, plans for personnel and personnel training.

It was noted that educational institutions have been deprived of some independence, that now, as it was put by Zarko Puhovski, they can deliberate only the complaints which students make about examinations. Professor Rene Lovrencic, a member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Croatia, cautioned that a public debate cannot be a "kind of entertainment for its own sake," appealing for more understanding to be shown toward the specific proposals coming from the base, from organizations of associated labor. "They cannot be disregarded more or less as though they were pointless," Lovrencic said. Speaking about the self-management issues, he also pointed out that a number of very important and key issues to any organization in vocational education are decided on by others. The question of efficiency is also relevant here, since "we have a very great deal of formalism," and in this bill "it seems to me, regardless of the constructive tendencies, we are in a number of aspects even increasing that formalism." Lovrencic's appeal for a democratic atmosphere in the public debate was seconded by Tomislav Jantol, docent in the School of Political Science and former secretary of the University Committee of the League of Communists:

"It seems to me that in some of the public descriptions of this law and its spirit and program the usual political errors are made, and every possible and every conceivable future critical observation is discredited, in the

benign sense as conservatism or still more drastically as being dangerous and as representing an ideological adversary."

#### No Alternative

Dr Stipe Suvar responds to these and other objections that it is a question of carrying out a social commitment laid down some 6 years ago in party congresses. In listening to these debates it sometimes seems, he says, that although we belong to the same portion of the organized socialist forces, we speak as though we were poles apart.

Suvar says that regardless of all the objections, the proposed law signifies a new step toward degovernmentalization, decommercialization and depolarization of education. He appeals for the debate and realization of the principles of the reform to be undertaken rather than to "through out the baby with the bath water." After all, it is worth realizing that in terms of the composition of student bodies we are altogether a "pathological society." Sixty percent of them are studying the social sciences, and at the same time we have a real shortage of disciplines related to production. "There must be some measure of harmony between the personal and the social."

Postponement of the termination of the period for public debate has opened up the possibility of yet something more being said about the new law. Probably this will help to bring the raised voices of these discussions down to the customary and necessary measure of a democratic and constructive effort on the part of all participants in this responsible and complicated public effort to complement one another. In any case, this somewhat temperamental exchange of opinions on the draft version of the new law should not bother anyone. After all, if it is being discussed, that means that people are thinking, and that is a sign that they want to find the most optimum social decisions, arrangements which will respect the reality of the existing situation and relations and the possibility for realizing the policy which has been outlined. After all, as it was put by Jirzi Lec, whenever everyone thinks the same or equally--no one is thinking!

#### Objections From Stipe Suvar

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1543, 27 Jul 80 pp 2-3

[Letter to the editor by Dr Stipe Suvar in response to the article "A Law Under a Magnifying Glass": "Where There Is a Will, Things Can Be Done Very One-Sidedly"]

[Text] NIN staff writer Mladen Maloca attempted in a recent issue of this magazine (20 July 1980, pp 7 and 9) to familiarize readers with the public debate on the draft of the law on vocational education in the Socialist Republic of Croatia.

The following points were made in the title, subtitle and headings of this article, whether they were his or those of the editors: the law is being closely examined, the debate is fierce, voices have been raised, there have been objections and responses, and there is no alternative. Anyone who has not had any opportunity to be very familiar with the course and content of the public debate, and I assume this to be true of almost all readers of NIN outside Croatia, in our other communities, and probably even of some readers within our republic, the article might appear to be both proper and interesting.

Not so much as one of the "participants in the confrontation" as Maloca describes it, wherever as the only one referred to as a defender of the legal arrangements proposed, while all the others whose names are given are sharp critics, but simply as one of the participants in the debate, one who truly has been up to his ears in it, for one thing because of official responsibility, I would like to make a few remarks about that article. I feel that it is very one-sided and offers an insight only into a truly small and sporadic fragment of it, and even that is against the background of the author's skillful arrangement of the "raised voices." I am persuaded that my impression of the one-sidedness of this article is shared by many who have been involved in the public debate for months now.

METHOD: M. Maloca has selected two details from a very broad and almost boundless repertoire of the public debate. He has quoted in almost its entirety a passage about the ideological struggle concerning the reform of education which was taken from a discussion of mine, which was quite extensive (and also concerned the general situation on the ideological front) in the meeting of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Croatia on 4 June 1980, and he also "plucked" from the transcript quotes of my polemical showdown with a small group of instructors of the School of Philosophy and the School of Political Science at a meeting organized back on 15 May 1980 by the commission of the Zagreb City Conference of the League of Communists of Croatia for the activity of party members at the university. He also states that the "Free Wednesday" on TV confirmed that the reform is not being followed indifferently, he mentions that STUDENTSKI LIST has published some of the reactions to which I in turn also reacted "with quite a bit of harshness." And that is all.

What are the issues that are at the center of the "fierce debate," and why does M. Maloca denote them with a more or less arbitrary choice? "Several serious objections have been forthcoming" from the university, namely: that the "reform is possible only if society as a whole is changed" (what a discovery, as if this were not written in our programmatic documents since at least 1974).

"That the bill has displaced the scientific training component to a large degree," "that free exchange of labor, which is supposed to be the foundation of the new relation and of reformed education, is not functioning as expected in practice," "that basic organizations of associated labor do not



in the great majority have their own development plans, nor, then, personnel and personnel training plans, that the self-management of educational institutions has been restricted, that they "can debate only student complaints about examinations," and "others make decisions about a number of key issues to any organization in vocational education."

THE DEBATE: Can these issues, and most of them are not issues at all, truly be the grounds for a "fierce debate," and have they actually been dominant in the public debate? These are questions which every serious reader of NIN can rightly put to himself. For my part I give that serious reader the following assurance: No, they are neither serious issues, nor have they been dominant in the public debate. But I would need quite a bit of space to indicate all the major innovations which the bill brings and the serious questions which they give rise to.

The public debate of the vocational education bill in the Socialist Republic of Croatia has been very broad, intensive and lively. Nor was the period allotted to it too short. The Croatian Assembly adopted the proposal for enactment of the law and put it up for public debate back on 28 April. Nor was the period for public debate extended under any pressure whatsoever, but on the joint proposal of the sponsors, the Executive Council of the Croatian Assembly and those carrying on the public debate, the Council of the Federation of Croatian Trade Unions, since it is the desire of all that the debate contribute as much as possible to better and clearer final formulations in the proposed law. Nor has anyone shown intolerance toward every critical remark, as asserted by Tomislav Jantol, and in particular no one has ignored the proposals that came from the base, from organizations of associated labor, as asserted by Rene Lovrencic, but Mladen Maloca obviously inclines toward them when at the end of his article, using even Jirzi Lec's aphorism, appeals for "democratic and constructive effort on the part of all participants to complement one another."

THE FACTS: It is not in line with the state of the facts to say that only such objections and criticisms as cited by M. Maloca and which he regards as "serious objections" have been forthcoming from the university in Zagreb. The objections which he takes note of are either not that at all, or they are not in dispute, since the proponents of the law have long since presented them, or they are not serious at all, but are very sporadic and express the opinions of individuals, groups and quarters which are nevertheless in a minority at that university. Anyone who takes the trouble to examine the entire scope and the entire repertoire of the public debate at the university can see this for himself.

Why in an account of the debate of the bill is there not a word about how the public debate has been going in large organizations of associated labor in the sphere of physical production; are the principal arrangements in the proposed law being supported there or rejected, and which are the issues they consider the most important, what are they insisting on, and what are they proposing? Why, for example, did M. Maloca not inform NIN readers



about the content of the debate in the Sisak Steel Mill? Or he does not even know about it, though it did have a quite broad response? The same applies to many other workplaces and communities all over Croatia, as well as to many schools and university departments and youth organizations (the Croatian Socialist Youth League enlisted 3,000 of its activists as leaders of the debate!). Why did his article contain not a word about the public debates and how they were supported and what parts of the bill were criticized in bodies such as the following: the republic Council for Affairs of Education, Science, Culture and Physical Education (the debate took up all of four plenary meetings!), the Council of the Federation of Croatian Trade Unions and the trade unions in almost all economic and social service activities. The Economic Chamber of Croatia, the Presidium of the Community of Universities of the Socialist Republic of Croatia, the Educational Council of Croatia, the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Croatia (two special-topic meetings), the Republic Self-Managed Community for Scientific Research, the Section for Upbringing, Education and Science of the Croatian Republic Conference of the SAWP, and so on.

And even if he ignored all that, he might at least have informed himself and then himself better informed NIN readers as to the judgments presented concerning the course of the public debate to date at the recent meeting of the republic Committee for Coordination of the Social Campaign for Self-Management Transformation of Upbringing and Education of the Republic Conference of the SAWP of Croatia, a body which even in its membership is the most authoritative to make such judgments. That body noted that strong support has been given to the basic solutions set forth in the draft and that at the same time many proposals and suggestions have been made which will contribute essentially to the final version.

The way it appears in M. Maloca's telling is that a law has been proposed in Croatia which is criticized by everyone, and Stipe Suvar is the only one to stand up and defend it, and supposedly even Suvar's warnings in a meeting of the Central Committee "have gone without response." It goes hard on me when M. Maloca sends me into the fray to defend the new law!

There are also other arbitrary assessments in Maloca's article. One is that "many note" that Croatia is ahead of the other republics in its reformist undertakings and "that that vanguard and pioneering role has its price." M. Maloca could not have heard such a judgment from a single responsible individual or body in our republic. There are differences among our republics and provinces in the pace at which the reform is being carried out, though the social forces in all of them have committed themselves to change in the same direction. And at the same time when the changes began in education in Croatia, changes also occurred in Vojvodina and elsewhere, so that one cannot by any means accept the judgment that the "pioneering role" of our republic in the reform of education has its price.

This assessment is also highly unacceptable and highly tendentious: "It might be said that for many this has been an occasion to revive those

slightly older, but still alive and present, dilemmas concerning the very nature of the reform and real possibilities for it to be carried through consistently to the end." If M. Maloca was thinking of those to whom he refers and whose objections he quotes, then they are not many, but few. He could not have been thinking of the organized socialist forces, since for them there is no dilemma about the very nature of the reform. If he was referring to some third party, he might have identified it more precisely.

#### Rejoinder by Journalist

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1544, 3 Aug 80  
pp 2-3

[Response to Stipe Suvar's letter to the editor by Mladen Maloca: "Concerning Suvar's Objections"]

[Text] In the last issue of NIN, published on 27 July 1980, Dr Stipe Suvar, chairman of the Republic Committee for Education, Culture, Physical Fitness and Technical Training, in response to my article entitled "A Law Under a Magnifying Glass," made some remarks about my article under the heading "Where There Is a Will, Things Can Be Done Very One-Sidedly." In short, Suvar says that it was one-sided and even tendentious and says that his remarks should give NIN readers a true picture of the state of affairs concerning the draft of the law on vocational education which is now being publicly debated in the Socialist Republic of Croatia.

Unfortunately, the remarks he offers are aimed more at discrediting than at explaining. Readers of NIN received another five or six little cards of text from which once again they could not have grasped the essential thing that should be written about. After all, Suvar says in his explanation, "it would take me a great deal of space to indicate all the major innovations which the proposed law embodies and the serious issues which they give rise to." I would only remind those who tend to be forgetful that NIN has written very frequently and very extensively about the essential issues of the reform over these last several years. Including those in the Socialist Republic of Croatia, and on those occasions Dr Stipe Suvar, who has an authentic familiarity with this problem area, has had space in this magazine to explain the basic goals and principles of the reform.

Dr Stipe Suvar suggests to readers of NIN that the issues discussed in my article "mostly are not issues," but it is he who indicated some of them at the recent meeting of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Croatia. On that occasion, we recall, Dr Suvar warned that "at present the battle is being drawn as to whether we will continue to change education or the forces offering resistance to those changes will maintain the status quo." Unfortunately, in that discussion he himself did not identify more precisely who those forces are, a lapse which, however, he charges me with.

Since after Suvar's remarks I owe an explanation to my readers, I would like to say that in my article, using the documents from the meetings mentioned in the text, my purpose was to indicate only a part of the discussions taking place concerning the proposed draft of the law on vocational education. Specifically that portion of the discussion which has been recently pointed up by Dr Stipe Suvar as well. I made use of the opinions of distinguished sociopolitical figures and instructors of Zagreb University, who have made their objections quite openly and from the speaker's stand of a party forum.

I am convinced that there is no reason to resort to the prestige of the sociopolitical bodies and forums in which the bill has been given support, since neither I nor the participants in the debate have withdrawn it, nor was that the intention of my articles. In point of fact, in the last and concluding portion of the text emphasis was put on the heading "No Alternative," which suggested that there is no alternative to the reform and that it represents a programmatic committee of the entire society. I have understood the effort of these university officials to have been an endeavor to find the best solution so that, to mention the words of Professor Lovrencic, we do not get in a situation of again changing something in the law in a few years because it was adopted hastily. Also I continue to be convinced that it is a broad democratic exchange of opinions that is the best way of finding the most optimum solutions. And in that kind of exchange of opinions, which is taking place within the organized socialist forces (such as, for example, the meeting of the commission of the Zagreb City Conference of the League of Communists for activity of the League of Communists at the university), I believe there is something to be said by the professors, teaching assistants, students and all the working people of this higher educational institution. And if Dr Stipe Suvar often seems to be the "only" defender of the reform or of the draft of the law on vocational education, I am the last one to blame for that.

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Sept. 24, 1980